FEBRUARY 20, 1984 $1.75

# TIME

LEBANON
Getting Out—
Or Getting In
Deeper?

## THE SUCCESSION

# Filling a Vacuum, Again

Yuri Andropov
1914-1984

# 1984 Olds Cutlass Supreme.

# Another beautiful reason why Cutlass is America's most popular mid-size.

You can tell it's a Cutlass Supreme the moment you see it. Those classic lines have helped make Cutlass the country's most popular mid-size over the past nine years.

But styling is just the start. There's the Supreme's outstanding resale history. Its comfort. Its room. Its fit and finish. Remarkable.

Luxury? Six passengers can ride in opulence. Deep, full-foam seats with elegant upholstery and fold-down center armrest. Divided front seats with individual controls are available.

Take a ride now. You'll get a special feeling amid all this impressive luxury.

Let's get it together - buckle up.

**There is a special feel in an *Oldsmobile***

# A METROPOLITAN IRA GIVES YOU MORE THAN MANY OTHER IRAs. IT GIVES YOU A GUARANTEE.

When you open an IRA with Metropolitan, you get something a lot of other IRAs don't give you: a guarantee.

That's because Metropolitan guarantees the entire principal—all the money you pay into the fund—year after year for the full life of your IRA. No matter how much money you put in over the years, it's *all* guaranteed.

We also guarantee the minimum annual interest rate your money will earn. Unlike some IRAs, there's none of the danger involved in speculative funds that can go down as easily as up.

At Metropolitan you can also obtain a disability waiver option that will keep payments going even if you should become totally disabled and cannot continue to contribute yourself.

And when the time comes for you to retire, we guarantee a number of options for using your IRA funds. These options range from receiving one lump sum to a guaranteed monthly retirement income for as long as you or your spouse live. That's a guarantee you can't outlive.

For more information, call your Metropolitan representative, a trained professional who will help you set up an IRA plan that gives you some very valuable guarantees.

Metropolitan Insurance Companies

## METROPOLITAN REALLY STANDS BY YOU.

© 1983 Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., N.Y., N.Y.

Life/Health/Auto/Home/Retirement

# A Letter from the Publisher

The world's news events piled atop each other with bewildering rapidity last week. Their character was remarkably varied: ominous, reassuring, inspirational, showy, frustrating. The death of the leader of the Soviet Union was announced, with all its implications for the future of that socialist superpower and its troubled relationship with the U.S. In the face of more violence and political uncertainty in Lebanon, President Reagan acted to redeploy the Marines. For the first time, men floated freely in the heavens, breaking away from the shuttle *Challenger* to become human satellites. In Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, the XIV Winter Olympics opened with impressive pageantry, only to have events "whited out" by too much of a good thing: snow. In sum, it was a remarkable week for journalism and for TIME.

It began on Monday with a meaningful moment for the magazine, as President Ronald Reagan celebrated his 73rd birthday and the 129th anniversary of the founding of Eureka College, his alma mater, by giving an address at the Illinois campus. His subject: the need for a historical perspective in evaluating the changes that have transformed America over the past five decades. In the process, the President was inaugurating TIME's Distinguished Speakers Program, a series of lectures presented in connection with the magazine's 60th anniversary. The talks will be given by outstanding men and women of various disciplines and claims to fame who have appeared on TIME's cover.

In introducing the President at Eureka, Time Inc. Editor-in-Chief Henry Grunwald recalled the familiar debate in the academic world between those who believe history is made by individuals and those who think it is the result of abstract, faceless forces. Said Grunwald: "We at TIME have always sided with the former school. In that spirit, TIME started out by putting a person on its cover every week, and the mainstay of that cover is still people." Grunwald called the Distinguished Speakers Program a "logical extension" of this tenet, one that would put TIME cover subjects "in direct touch with the public whose lives they have affected, and especially in touch with young people." The addresses will be given twice a year at colleges or universities picked by the speakers, who will be drawn from the worlds of politics, government, science, religion and the arts. They will represent a wide range of political and philosophic views and, it is hoped, will provoke lively discussion and debate between the newsmakers and their student audiences.

DIRCK HALSTEAD

**Reagan launches TIME's Speakers Program**

President Reagan, who has been on 24 TIME covers, caught the spirit of the program and the challenge the speakers could offer their audiences when he said: "I hope that 50 years from now, should TIME magazine ask you for your reflections, you'll be able to recall an era exciting beyond all of your dreams."

Indeed, examples of the excitement of our times unfolded all week long. Within minutes of the predawn news of Yuri Andropov's death, TIME's editors were gathering to discuss the magazine's coverage and to deploy correspondents and photographers. In Moscow, Bureau Chief Erik Amfitheatrof, worried by the melancholy music on his morning radio but not yet knowing that a Soviet notable had died, prepared himself for a stressful day by a half-hour jog through the capital's slippery streets. His weekend turned into a marathon of interviews with Soviet and diplomatic sources about the possible successor to President Andropov.

On the receiving end of Amfitheatrof's reports were Associate Editor John Kohan and Reporter-Researcher Helen Sen Doyle in New York City, who worked together on both the main chronicle of events and an accompanying assessment of the Soviet military's strength and political influence. Kohan and Doyle are both fluent Russian speakers who have traveled and worked in the Soviet Union. They have spent more than 26 years between them studying that secretive country.

For a journalist, getting the story or pictures out of a war-torn nation can be as perilous as covering the war. So it was last week for Photographer Harry Mattison, on assignment for TIME in Lebanon. The Beirut airport was closed, making it impossible to ship film by air. All roads leading north, south and east were closed because of fighting. Finally the frustrated Mattison decided to walk some ten miles to the Israeli lines with the week's work of six photographers. Mattison is no stranger to the hazards of war: he covered vicious combat in El Salvador for three years. But, he says of the gauntlet he ran last week, "There were nervous troops from three different militias and the Lebanese Army in the area. There was mortar and sniper fire all around. At one particularly bad moment on the way south, a Lebanese Army trooper shot into the ground at my feet to force me to turn back. I have rarely been so scared." He finally reached Israeli lines, south of Beirut, where he was able to place the film in friendly hands. He then turned around and retraced his steps, again through enemy fire.

For TIME's 20-member Olympics team in Sarajevo, getting the story was not life threatening, but difficult enough. This time the villain was nature. Snow, tons and tons of it, fell endlessly on the Yugoslav city, paralyzing communications, clogging roads, closing the airport, blurring the color in action-filled photographs and causing the postponement of event after event. Neither Eastern Europe Chief John Moody, who covered bobsledding, nor Associate Editor Tom Callahan, who wrote the week's main story, encountered major problems. Senior Correspondent William Rademaekers and Reporter Gertraud Lessing, however, braved treacherous slopes and icy winds of 100-plus m.p.h. to reach the Alpine-skiing sites, only to find that the competition had been called off. Correspondent B.J. Phillips, making her way around town in a Soviet-built Neva Jeep-type vehicle, was glad to be assigned to figure skating. "There is some advantage," she said, "in reporting one of the few winter competitions that take place indoors."

From Moscow to Beirut to Sarajevo, the week was simply memorable. Three weeks ago TIME announced that it was adding up to 100 "bonus" pages in order to handle 1984's very special journalistic demands. This issue contains 62 editorial pages, which ranks it among the magazine's largest issues ever. In it is the detailed, dramatic and colorful coverage made possible by the use of such bonus pages: extraordinary coverage in an extraordinary week.

John A. Meyers

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly at the subscription price of $46 per year, by Time Inc., 3435 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90010. Principal office: Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020. J. Richard Munro, President; Thayer Bigelow, Treasurer; Charles B. Bear, Secretary. Second class postage paid at Los Angeles, CA, and at additional mailing offices. Vol. 123 No. 8 © 1984 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to TIME, Time & Life Building, 541 N. Fairbanks Court, Chicago, Ill. 60611.□□ □□

# Index

FEBRUARY 20, 1984
Vol. 123 No. 8

## 14 The Soviets

For the second time in 15 months, the world holds its breath as the other superpower faces a change in leadership. Will the old men in the Kremlin name a successor from their own ranks, or will they boldly skip to the next generation? But more important than "After Andropov, who?" is the question "After Andropov, what?"

**32**
**Lebanon**
Muslim militiamen take over West Beirut, Reagan "redeploys" the Marines, and the *New Jersey's* 16-in. guns pound Syrian positions. Was the U.S. getting out—or getting in deeper?

**50**
**The Democrats**
The campaign so far has been a cakewalk for Mondale, and a new poll for TIME gives him a commanding lead. But now comes the real test: Can the front runner turn his organizational strength into votes?

**62**
**Space**
A flawless return to Cape Canaveral ends an eight-day shuttle flight that was highlighted by spectacular space walks but plagued by a rash of embarrassing failures, including the loss of two multimillion-dollar satellites.

**66**
**Olympics**
The competition got under way in Sarajevo, but barely, as a blizzard of gold-medal proportions forced a slip-sliding delay for some events. Indoors, the U.S. hockey team lost twice, mashing chances of another miracle.

**56**
**Nation**
Reagan returns home to talk of traditional values. ▸ Congressmen fly high. ▸ A USIA blacklist.

**58**
**Economy & Business**
Reagan's 1985 budget is bombarded on Wall Street and in Congress. ▸ Peppier profits for automakers.

**74**
**Design**
In Boston, civic mettle forces some architectural civility on the $500 million Copley Place development.

**76**
**Religion**
Adherents of a peace-loving faith, the Baha'is face persecution and death in Ayatullah Khomeini's Iran.

**77**
**Books**
Donoso's *House in the Country* is enchanted. ▸ How *Any Four Women Could Rob the Bank of Italy*.

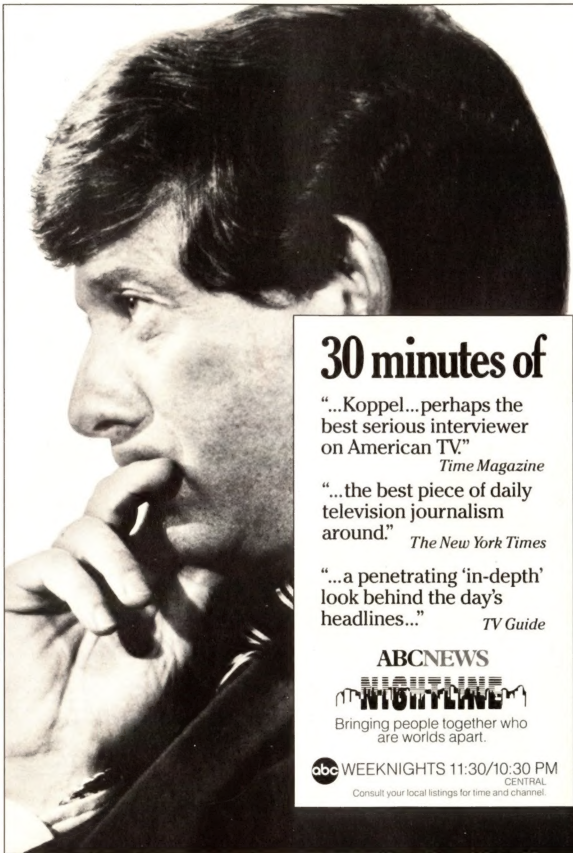
**81**
**Education**
An educator urges a more personalized approach for U.S. high schools. ▸ Harvard gets a new dean.

**82**
**Cinema**
*Footloose:* socko songs and muddled thoughts. ▸ *Unfaithfully Yours:* a remake that tops the original.

**84**
**Theater**
Chita Rivera and Liza Minnelli play mother and daughter in Broadway's new musical *The Rink*.

**5 Letters**
**65 People**
**72 Medicine**
**84 Milestones**

**Cover:**
Illustration by Eugene Mihaesco


30 minutes of
"...Koppel...perhaps the best serious interviewer on American TV."
Time Magazine
"...the best piece of daily television journalism around."
The New York Times
"...a penetrating 'in-depth' look behind the day's headlines..."
TV Guide
ABCNEWS
NIGHTLINE
Bringing people together who are worlds apart.
abc WEEKNIGHTS 11:30/10:30 PM
CENTRAL
Consult your local listings for time and channel.

*The Horowitz family on their 5th visit to Bermuda.*

# Bermuda. Haven't you put it off long enough?

The moment you arrive in Bermuda, you'll wonder why you waited so long. And you'll understand why our visitors return again and again, eager to enjoy the unique values that make a Bermuda vacation worth so much more than what you spend.

**The values of seclusion.**

Separated from everywhere by 600 miles of sea, Bermuda is an island of serenity in a noisy world. You'll find neither crowds nor clutter on our immaculate pink beaches. No neon or billboards to mar our flower-bedecked countryside. Nor will you encounter any rushing about on an island that clings to its delightfully archaic 20 mph speed limit.

**Our sporting values.**

Think what tennis is like on the island that introduced the sport to North America. Think about golf on seven spectacular, blissfully uncrowded courses. And think about the endless pleasures of our legendary turquoise waters.

**Values to shop for.**

You'll revel in our sparkling international shops—delighting as much in the civility of the Bermudians who serve you as in the irresistible prices they offer.

Treat yourself to a quality vacation in Bermuda. You'll find our accommodations as varied and lovely as our flowers. To be sure of your choice of accommodation, see your Travel Agent now.

Experience the values of

**Bermuda**

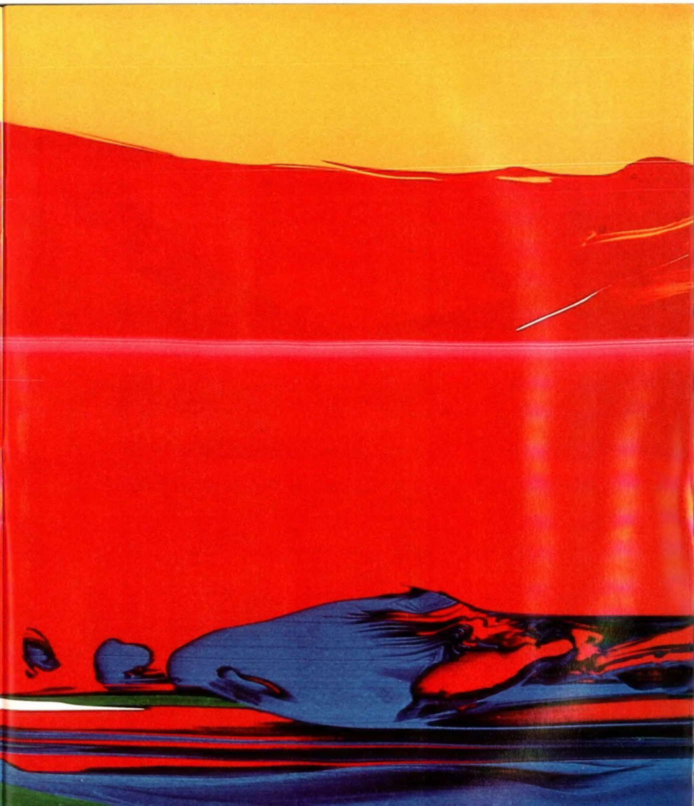
1905

**WRITE FOR A FREE BERMUDA BROCHURE:**
Bermuda Department of Tourism,
Post Office Box 4300, Woburn, MA 01888.

Name________________ (please print)
Address________________
City________________
State________________ Zip________

*The Carlsons on their 2nd visit.*

**REDS** And blues and greens and yellows. Inmont inks are used in almost all large-circulation publications. Inmont, the world's leading producer of printing inks, is a part of United Technologies. So are Carrier,



Pratt & Whitney, Otis and Sikorsky. Together, we've become the seventh largest manufacturing company in the United States and we're planning even more growth. United Technologies, Hartford, Connecticut 06101.

WHEN AMERICAN BUSINESS MEETS IN THE SOUTHEAST,
AMERICAN BUSINESS GETS TOGETHER AT HILTON.

**DELAWARE**
**Wilmington**
Wilmington Hilton (Claymont)

**KENTUCKY**
**Lexington**
Hilton Inn
**Louisville**
Hilton Inn (Jeffersonville, IN)

**MARYLAND**
**Annapolis**
Hilton Inn
**Baltimore**
Baltimore Hilton
Baltimore Hilton Inn (Pikesville)
**Columbia**
Hilton Inn

**NORTH CAROLINA**
**Asheville**
Great Smokies Hilton Resort & Conference Center
**Durham**
Hilton Inn
**Greensboro**
Airport Hilton Inn
Greensboro Hilton
**Raleigh**
Raleigh Hilton
North Raleigh Hilton
**Wilmington**
Wilmington Hilton
**Winston-Salem**
Winston-Salem Hilton

**SOUTH CAROLINA**
**Myrtle Beach**
Myrtle Beach Hilton

**TENNESSEE**
**Chattanooga**
Choo Choo Hilton
**Knoxville**
Airport Hilton Inn
Knoxville Hilton
**Memphis**
Airport Hilton Inn
**Nashville**
Airport Hilton Inn

**VIRGINIA**
**Charlottesville**
Charlottesville Hilton
**Lynchburg**
Lynchburg Hilton
**Virginia Beach**
Hilton Inn
**Williamsburg**
Williamsburg Hilton & National Conference Center

**WASHINGTON, D.C.**
Capital Hilton
Springfield Hilton (Springfield, VA)
Washington Hilton

FOR RESERVATIONS, CALL YOUR LOCAL HILTON RESERVATION SERVICE.

# Letters

## Winter Olympics

*To the Editors:*

It does not matter whether the U.S. shines in the Winter Olympics at Sarajevo [Jan. 30]. Even if we fail to win a gold medal, which is highly unlikely, I am proud of our athletes.

*Kevin J. Harris*
*Clarence, N.Y.*

Your portrayal of America's Olympic athletes is as inspiring as the Games themselves. The lives and abilities of these talented people should make us proud that they are representing the U.S.

*Nina Chien*
*New York City*

As the parent of young speed skaters, I was angered by your comment that speed skating is an obscure sport and "Heiden, the greatest speed skater in history—and an American—has flashed through without leaving a trace." Eric Heiden chose to excel in a sport that demands grace and strength, instead of one like hockey, which can be brutal and violent. I am proud that my children chose to emulate him.

*Judy Feldman*
*Glenview, Ill.*

Four years after the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, the press continues to snipe at us. In your report on the Sarajevo Games, almost every adjective or phrase you use in referring to Lake Placid has a negative or derogatory connotation. We may have done some things imperfectly that winter, but we did a lot that was right.

*Ruth P. Hart*
*Lake Placid, N.Y.*

In your historical review of Sarajevo, you say that Bosnia and Herzegovina were annexed by the Hapsburg Austro-Hungarian empire in 1878. At the Congress of Berlin in that year, Bosnia-Herzegovina was placed under Austro-Hungarian authority by the European powers but technically remained Turkish until the region was annexed outright by the Hapsburgs in 1908.

*Edward F. von Briesen*
*Oyster Bay Cove, N.Y.*

### Argentina's "Dirty War"

Your articles on the arrest of Argentina's former military leaders [Jan. 23] are not evenhanded. The left-wing terrorists, not the generals, started the dirty war. As a cousin of mine who is among the disappeared ones told me the last time we met, "The old order has to be destroyed to build a more just one." His politics led to acts as despicable as those used by the military. Because the generals won that war, we have democracy today in Argentina.

*Ezequiel Fernández*
*Buenos Aires*

Now that Argentina has leaders who want to govern in their citizens' interest, I see hope for that country. Maybe the junta's disastrous invasion of the Falkland Islands was a blessing in disguise.

*Douglas A. Johnson*
*Georgetown, Mass.*

Argentina would not be electing its leaders today had the leftist guerrillas defeated the "barbarous" and "repressive" military regime in the dirty war.

*John Stuewer*
*Madison, Wis.*

### Justice, Chinese Style

The Chinese crackdown on criminals [Jan. 30] seems uncivilized to Westerners. Yet we have labored for two centuries to perfect a fair judicial system, only to find ourselves bound in a cumbersome process that often prevents justice from prevailing. We should learn from the Chinese.

*Sharon Bergren*
*Portland, Ore.*

So criminal cases in China have dropped 42% as a result of 5,000 executions. I thought capital punishment had no deterrent value.

*Simon Raskin*
*New York City*

### Study and Play

I agree with H. Ross Perot's criticism of Texas schools and their obsession with football and marching bands [Jan. 30]. However, I would not deny a student the chance to participate in extracurricular activities because of low grades. Some students have their talent in their heads, others in their hands and feet.

*Joachim Barz*
*Highland Park, N.J.*

Of the students who play high school football, only a scant number will make the college team. The remaining thousands, instead of having learned to be

HELP YOURSELF!

Highly acclaimed, expert guidance on every aspect of gardening and landscaping

Reader's Digest BOOKS

Illustrated Guide to Gardening

Wherever books are sold
DISTRIBUTED BY RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

TENDERNESS...

Even the baddest of the bad have their softer side. Their tender moments.

Mr. T. meets an admirer at a Los Angeles County shelter for abused children. And reveals a heart as huge as the whole outdoors—and as soft as eiderdown.

Stars. Athletes. Politicos. Personalities. In People they let you see the people they really are. In stories that come straight from the soul. And pictures that touch your heart.

Pick up a copy where you shop—today.

Meet the *real* people in PEOPLE

People weekly

men, as the coaches say, will have probably neglected their educations. It is one thing for an individual to decide he wants to pursue athletics at the expense of his studies. It is quite another for a community like Odessa, Texas, to sacrifice the education of all its children for a game.

*Michael F. Schultz*
*Seattle*

As a teacher in the Odessa school system, I would like to remind you that the Greeks, who held scholars in the highest esteem, also prized athletes. I have never had an A-student jock who did not place English, math, science and history above athletic honors, and I have had more A-type jocks than those scraping to pass.

*Bobbye Durrett*
*Odessa, Texas*

I suggest we clone H. Ross Perot and put one on every school board in the U.S.

*Marion Larson*
*Barnegat Light, N.J.*

**Inquisitor Koppel**

It is no surprise to learn that Ted Koppel's ethics and integrity [Jan. 30] emanate from a set of sound personal values as well as intellectual honesty.

*Dorothy R. Patterson*
*San Diego*

Anyone who has watched Koppel knows he can dissect verbose answers and find what is crucial in them. I wish he would mediate a Reagan/Andropov debate.

*Joshua King*
*Swarthmore, Penn.*

**Boom in Beta**

Lest the consumer and our dealers be led astray, may I correct the statement in your story "Max Troubles for Betamax" [Jan. 16] that indicates Toshiba has abandoned Beta? On the contrary, Beta is still being sold by Toshiba in both the U.S. and Japan. With the advent of Beta hi-fi and Beta movies, Toshiba's business in this videotape system is booming.

*J. Paul Michie, Senior Vice President*
*Toshiba America Inc.*
*Wayne, N.J.*

**Femininity Flowers Again**

Susan Brownmiller's observation that femininity is making a comeback [Jan. 30] is accurate, but her rationale for its renewal is wrong. Femininity is returning to our society, not because women are lowering their expectations, but because men and women have discovered that a unisexual society is boring.

*Polly Browder*
*La Jolla, Calif.*

According to Brownmiller, the difference between a traditional woman and a feminist is that one shaves her legs and

ONE FREE CALL COULD MAKE YOU A BETTER NATURE PHOTOGRAPHER!

You can take a picture of a tiger. Or you can take a picture of a tiger that all but growls. We'll show you the difference in *Photographing Nature*, first volume in an advanced course based on the collective experience of the great LIFE photographers. Like every volume in the LIFE LIBRARY OF PHOTOGRAPHY, *Photographing Nature* is yours to examine for 10 days FREE. Take better pictures by then, or return it and owe nothing. Keep it and *Photographing Nature* is yours for $14.95 plus shipping and handling —or less than the cost of buying and developing two rolls of film!

TIME LIFE BOOKS

To look at *Photographing Nature* FREE for 10 days call toll-free

800-621-8200
(In Illinois 1-800-972-8302)

or write: Time-Life Books,
Time & Life Building
Chicago, Illinois 60611

1983 TIME-LIFE BOOKS INC

"I THOUGHT I HAD A GOOD IRA PLAN UNTIL I PHONED FOR VANGUARD'S FREE KIT... NOW I'M GLAD I SWITCHED"

The IRA I opened at my bank hasn't given me the flexibility I need. That's why I phoned for Vanguard's Free IRA Information Kit.

A skilled Vanguard representative explained the wide range of investment alternatives a Vanguard IRA provides...from an insured money market fund to aggressive growth stocks. This helped Vanguard send me a custom IRA Kit suited to my individual needs. So when my Kit arrived, I had all the information I needed to easily switch my bank IRA to a flexible Vanguard IRA...including details about these valuable Vanguard IRA features:

- Free Telephone Exchange Among Funds to Change Investment Strategy
- Personal Toll-Free Telephone Service
- No Sales Commissions
- Simplified Recordkeeping

FOR FREE IRA INFORMATION KIT CALL 1-800-523-7025*

Vanguard IRA, Vanguard Financial Center, Valley Forge, PA 19482

Please send me your exclusive IRA Information Kit and a prospectus that I can read carefully before I invest or send money. I understand it contains more complete information on advisory fees, distribution charges and other expenses.

Name ______
Address ______
City ______ State ______ Zip ______

☐ Also send information on HR-10 (Keogh)
19-TM-84-C32

*IN PENNSYLVANIA, CALL 1-800-362-0530 or visit our Philadelphia Investment Center at 8 Penn Center, Suite 1025, the corner of JFK Blvd. & 17th Street.

A MEMBER OF THE Vanguard GROUP OF INVESTMENT COMPANIES
OVER 50 YEARS OF SERVICE TO INVESTORS · OVER $7 BILLION IN ASSETS

# WRAP UP YOUR DAY EVERY NIGHT

When you want the news, turn to Chicago's most experienced news anchor-reporters.

Walter Jacobson— outspoken and informed, with contacts as solid as his credentials. Don Craig —who goes where the story breaks, then puts the facts into focus.

Watch them tonight. You'll see why more people watch them every night.

**Experience in action**

**THE 10 O'CLOCK NEWS 2**

CBS

MEL BROOKS
DAVE BRUBECK
JOANNE WOODWARD
ROBERT ALTMAN
DUDLEY MOORE
LAURENCE OLIVIER
INGMAR BERGMAN
WILLIAM HURT
JEREMY BRETT
DIANA RIGG
JANE LAPOTAIRE
ANTHONY HOPKINS
PERFORMING ARTS
JAMES COCO
DRAMATIC VARIETY
DAVID MAMET
SERIES
FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT
ISAAC STERN
DOUBLE FEATURES
KATE NELLIGAN
COMEDY
MAJOR STAGE
JOSEPH PAPP
ALVIN AILEY

Now, television people can look up to.

Arts & Entertainment is more of the television people want. With more hours, more variety in programming and more of the kind of entertainment that will have people coming back for more.

Arts & Entertainment Network
The Best Of All Worlds
Arts & Entertainment Network
555 Fifth Avenue, New York N.Y. 10017

HEARST/ABC-RCTV

## Letters

wears perfume and the other does not. And all this time I thought the big issues were equal pay and equal rights.

*Nancy S. Gamer*
*Pomona, Calif.*

Will our society ever be able to accept a woman who thrives on the challenges of the boardroom and also enjoys relaxing in a bubble bath?

*Cynthia Fosse*
*Concord, N.H.*

### Methodist Split

Your article on the struggle between the conservatives and liberals in the United Methodist Church [Jan. 30] demonstrates how difficult it is for a national religious organization to meet the needs of all its members. The liberal activities of the board of missions, which are the source of the disagreement, make me hope that the Methodist Church can be an effective force in the world.

*Patricia Thrash*
*Evanston, Ill.*

### A Girl's Dream

I am a 15-year-old Portuguese who was disappointed with your article on multimillionaires [Jan. 23]. Is it true that girls do not have a chance to get rich in the U.S.? Do men still control everything? I ask because I would love to go to America and make a fortune. I could do this with a big idea or with my skills, which I hope to improve every day.

*Maria Antonia de Figueiredo*
*Lisbon*

### Assessing Africa

Your article on Africa's woes, "A Continent Gone Wrong" [Jan. 16], is thought provoking. We should take courage from the Ashanti aphorism "The seed must get rotten before it germinates."

*Vincent Ude*
*Monrovia, Liberia*

It is ironic that Western nations, which are the champions of individual freedom and private enterprise, are thwarting the establishment of these principles by giving financial and technical support to African states with heavily centralized governments. These countries should reduce their bureaucracy and ease their restrictions on their farmers and businessmen. This will enable the economy to respond to market forces, which will do more to benefit Africa than huge development schemes.

*Asbjorn Osland*
*St. Louis, Senegal*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

# South Africa.

## Why it's part of Africa.

Well, it's on the southern tip of the continent.

That's just the beginning.

In common with the heart of Africa, you'll find nature untouched by man. Vast reserves of wildlife, roaming across great plains punctuated by majestic mountains.

You'll find fascinating deserts and lush, green forests. Warm winters under blue skies.

A seemingly endless variety of tribal cultures.

In South Africa you'll find the essence of Africa.

Unknown. Unpredictable. Beautiful.

You'll sense the mystery.

## Why it's not.

In 1652, the Dutch brought their architecture. Soon after, the English brought their traditions. The Germans, their culture. The French, a knack for making wines.

A settlement, startling in its diversity, blossomed. They called it Cape Town.

In 1871, diamonds were discovered in Kimberley. And fifteen years later, gold in Johannesburg. The fortune hunters came and uncovered the wealth that makes South Africa unique on the continent.

It is a country of golden beaches and seas of flowers. Thriving cities and glittering nightlife. Fashionable shopping districts. Extraordinary museums.

And a cosmopolitan population, with a wealth of traditional languages and cultures.

All of which makes South Africa – truly – a world in one country.

Ask your travel agent about special round trip airfares starting from $999.

**South Africa. A world in one country.**

satour

South African Tourist Corporation,
747 Third Avenue,
New York, N.Y. 10017.
Tel. (212) 838-8841; telex 649535.
Offices also located in Chicago and Beverly Hills.

Name ______________________

Address ______________________

______________________

______________________

# In the fight against today's gas costs, you have some powerful weapons at your disposal.

Once you understand just how worthwhile energy conservation measures are, you may well want to join the fight.

If so, you'll be glad to learn that there are many powerful weapons at your disposal.

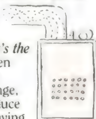
*Keeping your heat from leaving home.* One of the most basic steps you can take to reduce gas consumption is to make sure that when you heat your home, the heat stays inside.

That means two things: making sure your ceilings, walls, and floors are adequately insulated, so that a lot of heat doesn't pass right through them. And making sure that heat can't leave home through cracks around windows and doors.

If your home isn't well insulated, extra insulation can be added, often for a very reasonable cost. And caulking and weatherstripping are inexpensive projects perfect for the do-it-yourselfer.

*Saving gas all night: it's a matter of degrees.* Another important way to conserve gas is to keep your home cooler when everyone's asleep or no one is home. You should set your thermostat down—by 10 degrees or so—at bedtime. Or, for convenience, get an automatic set-back thermostat that will turn the heat down and back up, automatically, at any time you choose, day or night.

*For better fuel economy, get a tune-up. For the furnace.* Like any machine, your furnace or boiler can only do its best when it's in good shape. So make sure you have it inspected and adjusted at least once every 2 years to make sure it's giving you its best performance. And be sure to change your furnace filters at proper intervals.



*Time for a new appliance? That's the time to think conservation.* When the time comes, to replace your furnace, boiler, water heater, range, or dryer, that's the time to reduce your use of gas, by buying a new energy efficient appliance.

The new energy efficient gas furnaces and boilers can cut your heating bill by up to 20% or more. And that means big savings in the long run. Replacing other appliances with new, more energy efficient models can reduce your gas bill even more.

There isn't room here, to cover the full range of options you have, to help reduce your use of gas. These are just a few ideas, to get you started.

Another thing that will help you get started is some help from Northern Illinois Gas . . . and we mean financial help.

And that will be the subject of the last ad in this series.

NORTHERN ILLINOIS GAS
One of the NICOR basic energy companies

# HOW LONG WILL YOU LIVE?

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Will 20% of all Americans die of a heart attack without ever knowing they had a heart problem? | | |
| 2. If you stop exercising for one month, does your level of conditioning drop by 80%? | | |
| 3. Does the average American consume 35-40 teaspoons of sugar every day? | | |
| 4. Does a bowl of lentil soup contain enough protein to replace chicken, fish, or red meat in a meal? | | |
| 5. While listening to people, do you find yourself distracted by other thoughts? | | |
| 6. Is getting strenuous exercise once a week better than no exercise at all? | | |

The answers to these and other questions might prolong your life. With Bruce Jenner and Dr. Tim Johnson all this week.

National Health Test

GOOD MORNING AMERICA

We put more in your morning.

abc STARTING FEBRUARY 20TH. 7:00-9:00AM

David Hartman and Joan Lunden

# You don't have to give up service to save on long distance.

# Save 40% & 60% with AT&T's Special Discounts.

40% 60%

You don't have to choose between service and savings with AT&T. Our Evening Special saves you 40% from 5-11 p.m. Sunday through Friday. Our Weekend Special saves you 60% all day Saturday and Sunday till 5 p.m. and every night after 11. Just dial it yourself anywhere state-to-state. (Different discounts apply to Alaska and Hawaii.) And with AT&T, you can expect more than just savings. You can count on our service, too.

**Call from anywhere to anywhere.** Only AT&T gives a town of fifty the same nationwide long distance service as a city of five million. And no matter how far away you call, your voice will sound as close as you feel.

**Call any time.** There are never any restrictions on calling hours with AT&T. You can call any time of day or night.

**Collect and Person-to-Person Calls.** When you need important services like person-to-person and collect calling, it's nice to know you can count on AT&T.

**Operator Assistance.** Only AT&T gives you long distance operator service 24 hours a day. So if you have a problem or question, there's always someone ready to help.

For over a century, AT&T has worked to bring you the best long distance service in the world. And that service comes with savings when you have time to enjoy them. Calling anywhere, any time, operator service, and calls that sound as close as next door. That's AT&T. **The more you hear the better we sound.**℠

# AT&T
# Reach out and touch someone.℠

# BENSON & HEDGES
*Lights*

© Philip Morris Inc. 1983

11 mg "tar," 0.8 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Mar '83.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

*The Deluxe 100.*

Regular and Menthol.

# TIME

**Founders:** BRITON HADDEN 1898-1929 HENRY R. LUCE 1898-1967

**Editor-in-Chief:** Henry Anatole Grunwald
**President:** J. Richard Munro
**Chairman of the Board:** Ralph P. Davidson
**Corporate Editor:** Jason McManus
**Group Vice President, Magazines:** Kelso F. Sutton
**Executive Vice President, Magazines:** Philip G. Howlett

**MANAGING EDITOR:** Ray Cave
**EXECUTIVE EDITORS:** Edward L. Jamieson, Ronald Kriss
**ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITORS:** Walter Bingham, Richard Duncan, John Elson
**INTERNATIONAL EDITOR:** Karsten Prager
**SENIOR EDITORS:** David Brand, Martha M. Duffy, William F. Ewald, José M. Ferrer III, Stefan Kanfer, Donald Morrison, Henry Muller, Jack Nessel, Christopher Porterfield, Stephen Smith, George M. Taber
**ART DIRECTOR:** Rudolph Hoglund
**CHIEF OF RESEARCH:** Leah Shanks Gordon
**OPERATIONS DIRECTOR:** Gérard E. Lelièvre
**PICTURE EDITOR:** Arnold H. Drapkin
**SENIOR WRITERS:** George J. Church, Gerald Clarke, Michael Demarest, Otto Friedrich, Frederic Golden, Paul Gray, Robert Hughes, T.E. Kalem, Ed Magnuson, Lance Morrow, Frederick Painton, Roger Rosenblatt, R.Z. Sheppard, William E. Smith, Frank Trippett
**ASSOCIATE EDITORS:** Charles P. Alexander, Kurt Andersen, Patricia Blake, Tom Callahan, Richard Corliss, Spencer Davidson, John S. DeMott, John Greenwald, William A. Henry III, Russ Hoyle, Walter Isaacson, Gregory Jaynes, Marguerite Johnson, James Kelly, John Kohan, John Leo, John Nielsen, Richard N. Ostling, Sue Raffety, J.D. Reed, George Russell, Alexander L. Taylor III, Evan Thomas, Marylois Purdy Vega, Claudia Wallis, Michael Walsh
**STAFF WRITERS:** Kenneth W. Banta, Janice Castro, Hunter R. Clark, Philip Elmer-DeWitt, Guy D. Garcia, Pico Iyer, Ellie McGrath, Sara C. Medina, Jay D. Palmer, Michael S. Serrill, Alessandra Stanley, Richard Stengel, Susan Tifft, Anastasia Toufexis, Louisa Wright, Richard Zoglin
**CONTRIBUTORS:** Jay Cocks, Thomas Griffith, Charles Krauthammer, Melvin Maddocks, Jane O'Reilly, Kenneth M. Pierce, Richard Schickel, John Skow, Wolf Von Eckardt
**REPORTER-RESEARCHERS:** Ursula Nadasdy de Gallo, Mary Earle, Betty Satterwhite Sutter (Department Heads); Audrey Ball, Peggy T. Berman, Rosemary Byrnes, Nancy McD. Chase, Oscar Chiang, Elaine Dutka, Georgia Harbison, Anne Hopkins, Nancy Newman, Jeanne-Marie North, Susan M. Reed, Victoria Salès, Zona Sparks, Susanne Washburn, Rosemarie Tauris Zadikov (Senior Staff); Peter Ainslie, Bernard Baumohl, Richard Bruns, Robert I. Burger, Mary Carpenter, Valerie Castronovo, Helen Sen Doyle, Rosamond Draper, Kathryn Jackson Fallon, Mary Ann French, Cassie T. Furgurson, Cristina Garcia, Nelida Gonzalez-Alfonso, Robert T. Grieves, Michael P. Harris, Stephen Koepp, JoAnn Lum, Judith L. Marrs, Naushad S. Mehta, Katherine Mihok, Jamie Murphy, Adrianne Jucius Navon, Brigid O'Hara-Forster, John Podhoretz, Judith B. Prowda, Barry Rehfeld, Alfreda J. Robertson, Elizabeth Rudulph, Alain L. Sanders, Marion H. Sanders, William Tynan, Sidney Urquhart, Jane Van Tassel, Linda Young
**ADMINISTRATION:** Martin J. Gardner, Charlotte J. Quiggle, Donald Sweet
**CORRESPONDENTS:** Richard Duncan (Chief), Dean Fischer, R. Edward Jackson, B. William Mader (Deputies) **Washington Contributing Editor:** Hugh Sidey **Diplomatic Correspondent:** Strobe Talbott
**Senior Correspondents:** Ruth Mehrtens Galvin, William Rademaekers, Sandy Smith, Peter Stoler, Frederick Ungeheuer
**Washington:** Robert Ajemian, Bruce W. Nelan, Sam Allis, Laurence I. Barrett, David Beckwith, Gisela Bolte, Jay Branegan, Douglas Brew, Anne Constable, Patricia Delaney, Hays Gorey, Jerry Hannifin, Neil MacNeil, Johanna McGeary, Ross H. Munro, Christopher Redman, Barrett Seaman, Bruce van Voorst, Gregory H. Wierzynski **New York:** John F. Stacks, Jonathan Beaty, Robert Carney, Dorothy Ferenbaugh, Marcia Gauger, Barry Kalb, Timothy Loughran, Thomas McCarroll, Janice C. Simpson, Elizabeth Taylor, Jack E. White, Adam Zagorin **Boston:** Richard Hornik, Joelle Attinger, James Bell **Atlanta:** Joseph N. Boyce, B.J. Phillips, John E. Yang **Houston:** David S. Jackson **Chicago:** Christopher Ogden, J. Madeleine Nash, Lee Griggs, Don Winbush, Richard Zacks **Detroit:** Paul A. Witteman, Barbara B. Dolan **Denver:** Robert C. Wurmstedt **San Francisco:** William R. Doerner, Michael Moritz, Dick Thompson **Los Angeles:** Benjamin W. Cate, Steven Holmes, Joseph J. Kane, Melissa Ludtke, Richard Woodbury, Denise Worrell
**Europe:** Lawrence Malkin **London:** Bonnie Angelo, Mary Cronin, Arthur White **Paris:** Jordan Bonfante, William Blaylock, Thomas A. Sancton **Bonn:** Roland Flamini, Gary Lee **Eastern Europe:** John Moody **Rome:** Wilton Wynn, Roberto Suro **Jerusalem:** Harry Kelly, David Halevy **Middle East:** William Stewart **Beirut:** John Borrell **Bahrain:** Barry Hillenbrand **Moscow:** Erik Amfitheatrof **Hong Kong:** Sandra Burton, Bing W. Wong **Bangkok:** James Willwerth **Peking:** David Aikman **Nairobi:** James Wilde **Johannesburg:** Marsh Clark **New Delhi:** Dean Brelis **Tokyo:** Edwin M. Reingold, S. Chang **Melbourne:** John Dunn **Canada:** John M. Scott, Ed Ogle **Rio de Janeiro:** Gavin Scott **Mexico City:** David DeVoss, Ricardo Chavira **Caribbean:** William McWhirter, Bernard Diederich
**News Desk:** Suzanne Davis, Tam Martinides Gray, Susan Lynd, David Richardson, Jean R. White, Arturo Yáñez, Alison France, Blanche Holley, Ann Drury Wellford **Administration:** Emily Friedrich, Linda D. Vartoogian
**ART:** Nigel Holmes, Irene Ramp (Deputy Directors); Arturo Cazeneuve, Renée Klein, Leonard S. Levine, Anthony J. Libardi, William Spencer (Assistant Directors); Lily Hou, Laurie Olefson, John White (Designers); Rosemary L. Frank, Dorothy D. Chapman (Covers); Nickolas Kalamaras **Layout:** Burjor Nargolwala (Chief); John P. Dowd, John F. Geist (Deputies); Joseph Astaender, Steve Conley, David Drapkin, Carroll Dunham, Modris Ramans, Kenneth Smith, Barbara Wilhelm **Maps and Charts:** Paul J. Pugliese, E. Noel McCoy, Nino Telak, Deborah L. Wells
**Special Projects:** Tom Bentkowski
**PHOTOGRAPHY:** Michele Stephenson, Susan Jonas (Deputies); Demetra Kosters, Helen Eisenberg (Administration) **Researchers:** Evelyn Merrin, Richard L. Boeth, Anne Callahan, Martha L. Haymaker, Paula Hornak, Peter J. Kellner, Rose Keyser, Susan Lombardo, Eva Nutt Nies, Julia Richer, Carol Saner, Nancy Smith-Alam, Robert B. Stevens, Anne Stovell, Mary Themo **Photographers:** Eddie Adams, Walter Bennett, Sahm Doherty, Rudi Frey, Arthur Grace, Dirck Halstead, Peter Jordan, David Hume Kennerly, Neil Leifer, Ben Martin, Mark Meyer, Ralph Morse, Carl Mydans, Stephen Northup, Bill Pierce, David Rubinger, Ted Thai, Diana Walker, John Zimmerman
**MAKEUP:** Charles P. Jackson (Chief); Eugene F. Coyle (International); Leonard Schulman (Deputy); Peter J. McGullam
**OPERATIONS:** Sue Aitkin (Deputy Director); Susan L. Blair (Copy Chief); Stephen F. Demeter (Systems Manager); Lee R. Sparks (Production Chief); Eleanor Edgar, Judith Anne Paul, Joseph J. Scafidi (Deputies); Trang Ba Chuong, Gary Deaton, Suzi Romanik, L. Rufino-Armstrong, Shirley Zimmerman (Supervisors); Frances Bander, Minda Bikman, Robert Braine, Madeline Butler, Joan Cleary, Kenneth Collura, Manuel Delgado, Leo Deuel, Lucia Hamet, Evelyn Hannon, Garry Hearne, Judith Kales, Theresa Kelliher, Claire Knopf, Agustin Lamboy, Jeannine Laverty, Marcia L. Love, Mary McAleer, Helen May, Emily Mitchell, James B. Mountjoy, Gail Music, Maria A. Paul, Alma Routsong, Megan Rutherford, Marcia Schlafmitz, Julia Shaw, Walter J. Tate, Jill Ward, Alan Washburn
**LETTERS:** Joan D. Walsh (Chief); Isabel F. Kouri (Deputy)
**EDITORIAL SERVICES:** Christiana Walford (Director); Herbert G. Orth, Benjamin Lightman, Alex Stack, Elizabeth G. Young

**PUBLISHER:** John A. Meyers
**General Manager:** Michael J. Klingensmith
**Public Affairs Director:** Robert D. Sweeney
**Promotion Director:** George P. Berger
**Circulation Director:** Eric G. Thorkilsen
**Business Manager:** Arthur G. Sachs
**ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER-ADVERTISING SALES DIRECTOR:** Richard B. Thomas
**U.S. Advertising Sales Director:** John J. Crowley Jr.
**Associate U.S. Adv. Sales Director:** Charles D. Hogan



# "It takes so little to give so much."

"This is a young East African child who is incredibly poor. His parents are refugees because they lost nearly everything in the violence of a border war. The boy and his family had to run for their lives.

"But this child isn't just a statistic or a photograph to me. He's Damiano, one of the children I sponsor through Christian Children's Fund.

## "For Just $18 A Month, My Sponsorship Means Damiano Has Real Hope For A Better, Healthier Life."

"Christian Children's Fund sent me all the information I just told you about Damiano, and they also let me know how I could write and receive letters from him. The language difference isn't a problem, because CCF's English-speaking staff in East Africa translates for us.

"But what impresses me most is how much my $18 a month—that's only 60¢ a day—does for Damiano. My sponsorship will help pay for his education, nourishing meals and medical attention. It will help take care of whatever Damiano needs most.

## "Please Give Just A Little. And Get A World Of Love In Return."

"You don't need to send any money now. Just mail in the coupon. Christian Children's Fund will send you a child's photo, family background and details on how the child will be helped.

"If you can't sponsor a child right now but would like to make a contribution, Christian Children's Fund will put your money to work where there's an urgent need.

"Please send in the coupon now. Your concern and love really can help give a world of hope to a needy child."

Sally Struthers, National Chairperson

# Send Your Love Around The World.

Dr. James MacCracken, Executive Director
CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, Inc., Box 26511, Richmond, VA 23261

☐ I wish to sponsor any child who needs my help.
☐ I prefer to sponsor a ☐ boy ☐ girl ☐ either in the country checked below

☐ Bolivia ☐ Guatemala ☐ India ☐ Indonesia ☐ Thailand ☐ Mexico
☐ Brazil ☐ Honduras ☐ Kenya ☐ Philippines ☐ Uganda

(If you would like to sponsor more than one child in any of the above countries, please specify the number in box[es] of your choice.)

PLEASE SEND MY INFORMATION PACKAGE TODAY

☐ I want to learn more about the child assigned to me. If I accept the child, I'll send my first sponsorship payment of $18 within 10 days. Or I'll return the material so you can ask someone else to help.

☐ I prefer to send my first monthly payment now; enclosed is $18 for each child.

☐ I cannot sponsor a child but I'll give $________ to the Christian Children's Fund Growth Fund (provides expansion of services in a hungry world)

Name ________

Address ________

City ________ State ________ Zip ________

IN THE U.S.: CCF, Box 26511, Richmond, VA 23261
IN CANADA: CCF, 2409 Yonge St., Toronto, Ontario M4P 2E7
Member of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc.
Gifts are tax deductible. Statement of income and expenses available upon request. NT IM2 3

# Christian Children's Fund, Inc.

# ONE CHOICE ONLY HBO CAN GIVE YOU.

"Sophie's Choice" on HBOnly™

Only HBO™ brings Sophie into your home. Or gives you a ringside seat at "The Comeback" of Sugar Ray Leonard.

Only HBO transports you to the magical world of Jim Henson's "Fraggle Rock".™ And then rocks

the foundation of your home with David Bowie's "Serious Moonlight."

That's why, whether it's "Sophie's Choice" or your favorite choice, no one brings them home like HBO.

HBO®

## IN FEBRUARY, THERE'S NO PLACE LIKE HBO.™

FRAGGLE ROCK is a trademark of Henson Associates, Inc. © 1984 Home Box Office. All rights reserved. "Sophie's Choice" is now showing on HBO and no other national pay cable TV service

# Permanent pleasures.

## Choose one of these five sets and save up to $305^{50}

You simply agree to buy 4 books within the next two years.

### The Encyclopedia of Philosophy

for **$24.95** (Pub price $175)

The most comprehensive encyclopedia of philosophy ever published, this set traces ancient, medieval, modern, Eastern and Western thought. An essential and rewarding reference source for home libraries.

### The Compact Edition of The Oxford English Dictionary

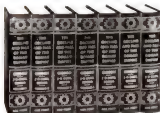
for **$24.95** (Pub price $150)

The "most complete, most scholarly dictionary of the English language" – ***The Christian Science Monitor***. Through photoreduction, the original 13-volume set has been reproduced in this two-volume *Compact Edition*. Magnifying glass included.

### Beethoven: The Nine Symphonies & The Five Piano Concertos

for **$19.95** (List prices total $115.74)

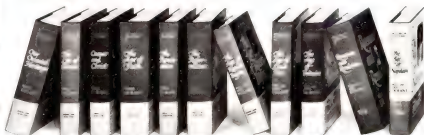
Two of the most celebrated recordings of Beethoven's works. Sir Georg Solti conducts the Chicago Symphony in the nine-record set of Beethoven's complete symphonies. "A glorious musical combustion" – *Time*. In collaboration with soloist Vladimir Ashkenazy, Solti and the Chicago Symphony perform Beethoven's five concertos. "A major addition to the Beethoven discography" – *High Fidelity*. Available on 13 records or 8 cassettes.



### The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire by Edward Gibbon. Edited by J. B. Bury

for **$24.95** (Pub price $300)

The definitive Bury edition of the most acclaimed history of all. Gibbon evokes a world of grandeur and decadence, masterfully tracing its collapse under emperors noble and ignoble. Seven-volume set, newly available with maps and illustrations on long-lasting, acid-free paper, quarter-bound in leather.



### The Story of Civilization by Will and Ariel Durant

for **$29.95** (Pub prices total $335.45)

For almost half a century Will and Ariel Durant traced the continuity of world history—the religions and philosophies, the political and economic tides, the arts and sciences, the customs and conquests—to show the foundations of society today. A Book-of-the-Month Club exclusive for almost 50 years, the Durants' illustrated masterwork is history come alive.

Facts About Membership. As a member you will receive the *Book-of-the-Month Club News** 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks). Every issue reviews a Selection and about 150 other books that we call Alternates, which are carefully chosen by our editors. If you want the Selection, do nothing. It will be shipped to you automatically. If you want one or more Alternates—or no book at all—indicate your decision on the Reply Form and return it by the specified date. ***Return Privilege***: If the *News* is delayed and you receive the Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit at our expense. ***Cancellations***: Membership may be discontinued, either by you or by the Club, at any time after you have bought four additional books. Join today. With savings and choices like these, no wonder Book-of-the-Month Club is America's Bookstore.

**BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB®**

America's Bookstore® since 1926

Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., Camp Hill, Pennsylvania 17012 **A188-2-1**

Check one box only

- ☐ 912 Compact OED **$24.95**
- ☐ 913 The Story of Civ. **$29.95**
- ☐ 917 Ency. of Philosophy **$24.95**
- ☐ 932 Beethoven (13 Records) **$19.95**
- ☐ 933 Beethoven (8 Cassettes) **$19.95**
- ☐ 951 Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire **$24.95**

Please enroll me as a member of Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the set I have checked at left, billing me for the appropriate amount, plus shipping and handling charges. I agree to buy four books during the next two years. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Name______________________________ **4-64**

(Please print plainly)

Address________________________ Apt______

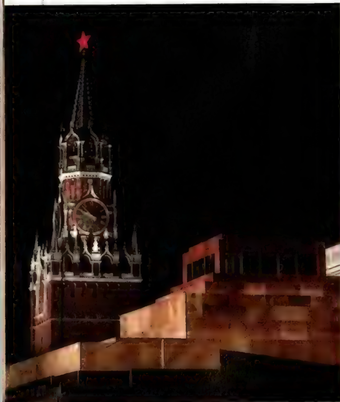
City______________________________

State____________________ Zip________

Prices shown are U.S. prices. Outside the U.S. prices are generally higher.

# Again, the World

## *After only 15 months in power, Andropov leaves unfinished*



**"With deep sorrow we inform the party and the entire Soviet people that Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov . . . died after a long illness at 16:50 on Feb. 9, 1984"**

He was a long time dying; the world was a long time waiting. Indeed, since last fall, Kremlinology had become largely a death watch. In capitals round the world the same questions persisted: After Andropov, who? After Andropov, what?

Yet there was no sense of anticlimax when it actually happened. The news still stunned a Washington already benumbed by the latest upheaval in Lebanon. U.S. policymakers and experts were awakened early Friday morning, and their reaction was, in the main, anything but a yawn. A major event had occurred, and there was no way to be fully prepared.

For one thing, Soviet officials had insisted that Andropov was recovering. For another, no amount of warning and contingency planning renders the actual event routine when the deceased is the leader of the Soviet Union. So it was with Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin and Leonid Brezhnev—all of whom were, like Yuri Andropov, a long time dying, and all of whose deaths occasioned not just obituaries but portentous talk of epochs and turning points. If Andropov's passing occasioned anxiety as well, it was because questions the experts have been asking for so long could still not be answered.

In the Soviet Union, leadership transitions are, by definition, leadership crises. The most oppressively managed of societies and political systems has never been able to manage successions in a way that avoids conveying a sense of crisis both to the Soviet people and to the world. Top leaders never retire with honor. They either die on the job (as Lenin, Stalin and Brezhnev did), or they are thrown out and end up as pensioners in ignominy (as Georgi Malenkov and Nikita Khrushchev were).

The paralysis of the Soviet gerontocracy could hardly have been more vividly demonstrated than by the macabre spectacle of Andropov's long eclipse. For months, he was nowhere to be seen as his colleagues insisted he was suffering from "a severe cold." In his place, a disembodied, ventriloquial voice spoke for the Soviet leadership in carefully drafted, presumably ghost-written statements issued in Andropov's name and in "interviews" in *Pravda*.

The Soviet leaders are unable to cope with the political implications of their own aging, infirmity and mortality for a reason that is simple and damning enough: theirs is a system based on the seizure, accumulation and consolidation of power. It has no built-in mechanisms for the sharing or transferring of authority beyond the inner circle. Every time a Soviet leader dies or is incapacitated, the world ought to be reminded of that essential fact.

The conservative old men who run the Soviet Union operate by two sets of rules—those that they make by and for themselves, and those that are established and enforced by the actuarial tables. Andropov's heirs found themselves in a dilemma that underscores the irony of the Soviet Union's youthfulness as a state (a mere 61—six years younger than the average age of the Politburo members) and the falsity of its claims to represent the wave of the future.

The safe choice would be for the old guard to pick from its own ranks. But that would mean going through the same trauma again, sooner rather than later. A younger successor would postpone that embarrassment, but he would carry a higher degree of uncertainty, of unpredictability.

The Soviet leaders hate uncertainty, they hate unpredictability. Yet they find themselves repeatedly unprepared in the face of the ultimate certainty: death. Even when we know "after Andropov, who," it will be months, perhaps years, before we know "after Andropov, what." ***—By Strobe Talbott***

# Holds Its Breath

*business and a country seriously in need of leadership*

TASS

Hidden from view for 175 days, Andropov is seen for the last time on a flower-covered bier in Moscow's House of Trade Unions

TIME/FEBRUARY 20, 1984

COVER STORIES

# End of a Shadow Regime

*When the music changed, all Moscow knew that what it feared had happened*

The day dawned gray and ordinary. As Muscovites looked outside at streets dusted with fresh snow, they could at least take comfort from the fact that it was Friday. Many turned on their radios, expecting the usual mix of news, pop music and light entertainment. What they heard instead were the melancholy strains of Chopin, Rachmaninoff and Tchaikovsky. Only 15 months before, such symphonic tributes had signaled the death of Leonid Brezhnev. Now the music was playing again. A Soviet office worker said it all: "Someone has died up there."

Foremost in everyone's mind was the distressing knowledge that Soviet Leader Yuri Andropov had not been seen in public since Aug. 18, however often his name had been evoked in print and over the air waves. But in a nation where political successions have brought both terror and hope, the idea that another change in command was under way after little more than a year seemed hard to believe. Soviet citizens knew Andropov was ill, but many, uneasy with the prospect of a new transition, believed reports that he was convalescing. So a guessing game began. Some Soviets thought that Vasili Kuznetsov, the oldest member of the ruling elite, might have died on the eve of his 83rd birthday. Others figured it was Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov, 75, who had canceled an official visit to India a week earlier. But a worried Moscow housewife gave voice to the fear she shared with many of her compatriots: "It would be terrible if Andropov has died. We don't need another change."

The announcement finally came at 2:30 p.m. on Friday. Seated in an unadorned studio, Newscaster Igor Kirilov solemnly began to read the official text: "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and the Council of Ministers . . ." At that point the screen went blank for a moment, and then the outlines of a familiar face with heavy spectacles appeared. Kirilov continued to intone off-screen: ". . . with deep sorrow inform the party and the entire Soviet people that Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, died after a long illness at 16:50 on Feb. 9, 1984." The face on the screen was Andropov's.

As accustomed as the world may have grown to the idea of Andropov's illness, the news of his death hit with exceptional force. It is always, of course, a dramatic event when one of the world's two superpowers loses a leader. But when that country is a totalitarian state, the event evokes a special combination of hope and fear, not only within its own borders but around the world. Awakened at his Santa Barbara, Calif., ranch with the news at 3:20 a.m., President Reagan dispatched a message of condolence that expressed his

wish for "genuine cooperation with the Soviet Union to make the world better." Said former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance: "A change of leadership in Russia is always a political turning point, and our policies and actions toward them can affect the direction in which the Soviets move."

Andropov's compatriots barely had time to form much of an impression of their leader—not, at least, in his latest role. They knew him well enough as chief of the dreaded KGB for 15 years and as a man accustomed to having his own way. Whatever misgivings they might have had about him, after watching Brezhnev's painful, protracted decline, many had hoped that Andropov, at 69, would project an image of strength and vigor. But soon after taking office, he too displayed the telltale signs of serious illness (*see box*), and completely disappeared from public view for his final 175 days in power.

**Muscovites line up to buy newspapers reporting Andropov's death**

*The idea that a transition was under way again was hard to believe.*

Muscovites who strolled in the streets last weekend appeared pensive and subdued as they paused to watch workmen drape red and black banners from public buildings and hang hammer-and-sickle flags trimmed in black from lampposts. There were few open displays of grief. Andropov was neither loved nor hated by most of his countrymen, and would be remembered less for what he had done than for what he had left undone.

He was unable to carry through his modest efforts to revive the economy. Though he had made some headway in invigorating the party bureaucracy, he may have left behind a Politburo divided along generational lines. The late Soviet leader had kept his nation's military strong, but his countrymen now felt more threatened than ever. At their bluntest, Muscovites reflected that in death Andropov had at least spared them further months in which they would wait and wonder how long the Soviet Union could be governed by a shadow leader.

Andropov's lingering illness, it was thought, had given his comrades in the Politburo ample time to plan for the succession. But at week's end the transition did not appear to be proceeding as smoothly or swiftly as it did following Brezhnev's death. Then it had taken only 52 hours for Andropov to emerge as the Central Committee's choice for General Secretary of the Communist Party. But newsmen watching the streets around the huge Central Committee building in downtown Moscow on Saturday afternoon saw no sign of unusual activity. If the Central Committee, which must elect the new Party leader, was not even meeting, what drama might be unfolding behind the Kremlin's walls? "Our feeling is that they are horse trading," suggested a U.S. diplomat in Moscow. "Someone will get General Secretary. Someone else the presidency." Andropov's two most important titles, in other words, would be parceled out to two contenders. In addition, there was speculation that Premier Nikolai Tikhonov, 78, would be asked to make way for the final member of a new troika.

The key question was whether the septuagenarians in the Politburo would choose the top man from their own ranks or would boldly pick a younger man. The two likeliest young candidates: Grigori Romanov, 61, and Mikhail Gorbachev, 52. With few clues to go on, Kremlin watchers seized on the appointment of Konstantin Chernenko, 72, a onetime Brezhnev protégé, to head the funeral committee as an indication that the old guard had triumphed. Although Andropov had been chosen for the same position when Brezhnev died, the signal was not as clear this time. As Andropov's nominal deputy, Chernenko was the logical choice for the ceremonial job, and his selection conformed fully to the rules of protocol.

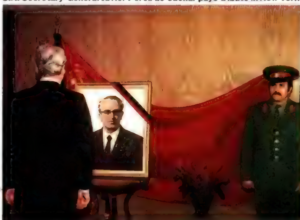
By scheduling Andropov's state funeral for this Tuesday, the Politburo was in effect setting a deadline for itself. Diplomatically, it would be awkward if no new party leader was on hand to receive foreign dignitaries who will file through the Kremlin's Hall of St. George after the ceremony to express their official condolences. Andropov had used that role to make his debut before the foreign community, conveying the idea that his nation could weather a change of leadership without crisis. His successor would surely want to do the same.

As the hours passed without word of a decision, the streets near the House of Trade Unions, where Andropov's body was lying in state, were patrolled by men in uniform and by civilian volunteers with red armbands. Yet the area that was sealed off to traffic was far smaller than after Brezhnev's death. Outside the perimeter, crowds of shoppers, swathed in thick coats, boots, scarves and fur hats, thronged the sidewalks, seemingly oblivious to what was going on a few blocks away. Said a Soviet soldier: "Just as they found Andropov, they will find someone else."

Last Saturday a motorcade of black limousines carrying Politburo members arrived at the green-and-white neoclassical House of Trade Unions, which was decorated with an enormous portrait of Andropov. In a columned hall inside, Andropov's body lay in an open coffin banked with carnations, red roses and tulips. Chernenko, acting as the first among equals, led the delegation. Tikhonov came next, followed by a trio of senior Politburo members walking three abreast: Defense Minister Ustinov, in his familiar uniform with rows of ribbons, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Moscow Party Boss Victor Grishin. Behind them came Gorbachev and Romanov, walking side by side as if to dispel rumors of their rivalry for Andropov's job.

The silver-haired Chernenko, who was once thought to be Brezhnev's handpicked heir, paused for a moment before the coffin of the man who had defeated him in the leadership race last time. Andropov's face was bony and drawn, his nose almost beaklike. His long ordeal seemed reflected on the faces of his wife, his son Igor and his daughter Irina, who sat near the flower-bedecked bier. While an orchestra played Tchaikovsky's *"Pathétique" Symphony* in the background, Chernenko went up to Andropov's widow, kissed her and touched her gently on the shoulder. When Ustinov embraced the late Soviet leader's son, Igor broke into sobs. As he covered his face with his hand, other Politburo members reached over to touch his arm. A Westerner who joined thousands of mourners later in the

**U.N. Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar pays tribute in New York**



ALPERT—KEYSTONE

At a meeting of the Supreme Soviet last December: Ustinov, Gromyko, Chernenko, Tikhonov—and Andropov's empty seat

day summed up the mood as he walked from the hall between honor guards standing stiffly at attention: "An austere life, an austere death."

There were several clues in the final days before Andropov's death to indicate that he was failing fast. In a highly unusual move, Ustinov canceled his important visit to New Delhi without giving any reason. Andropov's son, a diplomat attending the Stockholm security conference, hurried home on Tuesday afternoon for "family reasons." But there were equally contradictory signs. At about the time the Soviet desk on the sixth floor of the State Department was monitoring the telltale music from Moscow, Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoli Dobrynin, seemingly oblivious to the events back in Moscow, was two floors up, mingling with members of Washington's foreign policy Establishment at a birthday celebration for former Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson was the first official to break the news of Andropov's death. Shortly before lunchtime on Friday, he interrupted a meeting of European Community and Third World foreign ministers in Brussels to announce solemnly that "the party leader of one of the greatest nations of the world has passed away." Cheysson was nearly two hours ahead of Moscow with his news bulletin. Embarrassed French officials later explained that Cheysson had misread a garbled cable from Paris and taken informed supposition for fact.

After considering the pros and cons of traveling to Moscow for the funeral, Reagan decided to send Vice President George Bush instead. Whatever the merits of a Moscow visit, Reagan, who had declined to attend Brezhnev's funeral, apparently did not want the Soviets or anyone else to wonder whether he was exploiting the occasion for his own political ends.

In a radio address last Saturday, the President stressed his commitment to improving relations with Moscow. Said he: "What is needed now is for both sides to sit down and find ways of solving some of the problems that divide us." Bush planned to carry a similar message to the new Soviet leader. "The U.S. wants improved relations," said the Vice President during a stopover in London. "We'll keep the rhetoric at reasonable levels and go and see whether they want to hold out the hand and meet us there."

Anxious West Europeans hoped that Andropov's funeral might offer an opportunity for their leaders to broaden contacts with the Soviet Union. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the only major Western statesman to visit Andropov while he was in office, announced that he would attend the ceremonies, as did Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. In a terse statement, Pope John Paul II offered "a special thought for the illustrious deceased one."

Australian diplomats traveling in China with Prime Minister Bob Hawke were the first to convey the news to Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang. When the two leaders sat down at a state banquet, Zhao turned to Hawke and asked, "Who do you think will succeed Andropov?" The official Chinese message to Moscow was brief but surprisingly warm, noting: "It is the sincere desire of the Chinese government to see relations between the two countries normalized."

The Kremlin's new leader is not likely to take bold steps to improve relations with China, end the war in Afghanistan or break the deadlock in nuclear arms negotiations, at least not immediately. Decisions within the ruling elite will continue to be made collectively; in the short term, no one man will be able to change the broad outlines of a foreign policy that predates Andropov's accession. Instead, during a time of transition, Moscow will no doubt opt for what is familiar. Explains a British diplomat: "When there is uncertainty in Moscow, the instinctive reaction is one of continuity in policies and actions, with a somewhat harder interpretation of these policies until the new leadership has time to consolidate its position." The Kremlin has little to gain in making conciliatory moves that would serve to help Reagan's re-election campaign.

The final months of Andropov's tenure were marked by a steady deterioration in both the tone and the substance of U.S.-Soviet relations. Last November, when Britain, West Germany and Italy proceeded with the planned deployment of new NATO missiles, the Soviets walked out of the Geneva talks on intermediate-range weapons in Europe. During the next three weeks, they suspended their participation in the Geneva Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) and in the decade-long Vienna negotiations on conventional forces in Europe. Andropov bluntly said that the U.S. had "torpedoed" the possibility of reaching an arms accord. Reagan had a comeback of his own: "I think the evidence is clear as to which country is sincerely and honestly working toward a reduction of armaments."

Yet in the weeks before Andropov's death, both superpowers had been delicately probing the possibilities of improved relations. Meeting for five hours during the Stockholm security conference in Europe last month, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko agreed to resume the Vienna talks in March. TIME has learned that Reagan authorized Shultz to sound Gromyko out on ways to resume START, including the possibility of a new framework for an agreement that differs dramatically from the Administration's existing proposal. Although Gromyko was so intransigent that Shultz could not pursue the idea, some American foreign policy analysts have interpreted recent Soviet calls for the U.S. to match words with deeds as an expression of the Kremlin's willingness at least to consider any new American offers.

The succession is certain to sharpen debate within the Reagan Administration on how to deal with the Soviets. Some

State Department officials tend to see the change in leadership as an opportunity to improve U.S.-Soviet relations by substantially modifying the U.S. START proposal to bring it closer to the Soviet position. The Pentagon, on the other hand, believes that the U.S. should not present new ideas and in effect reward the Soviets for walking out of the talks. They also suspect that the Soviet leadership is too much in disarray to negotiate an arms agreement.

If the new man in the Kremlin follows Andropov's example, he will turn his attention first to his nation's considerable domestic problems. He will inherit an economy that is in only slightly better condition than the one that Brezhnev bequeathed to his successor. Andropov mixed greater calls for discipline with a handful of modest incentives, thereby raising national income by 3.1% in 1983. Better weather brought in an unusually large grain harvest last year, 200 million tons, compared with a low of 160 million tons in 1981. But the fundamental problems of industry and agriculture remain, and Andropov's reforms were at best stopgap measures. If his successor hopes to improve the Soviet economy in any fundamental way, he will have to take the far bolder step toward reforming the country's rigidly centralized bureaucracy.

In choosing Andropov to succeed Brezhnev, the Kremlin leadership had sought to steer a cautious course of transition and postpone the inevitable day when power would devolve to a younger, unseasoned generation. Defying an unwritten law of Soviet politics that control must be consolidated over years, Andropov sought in a matter of months to take charge and begin to rejuvenate the aging leadership. But he could not hold off the ravages of disease long enough to succeed.

As the cumbersome transition process was set in motion last week, the ruling elite faced some unsettling choices. It could choose an older man once more and take a chance on another short-lived regime, or it could yield to the younger generation. There was a third way, combining youth and age in a temporary partnership. For leaders little inclined to take gambles, each course carried its disquieting risks. **—By John Kohan. Reported by Erik Amfitheatrof/Moscow and Barrett Seaman/Washington, with other bureaus**

# Putting the Rumors to Rest

Officially, it was described as "a bad cold." But feverish imaginations in the world press soon produced far more colorful explanations for Soviet President Yuri Andropov's total disappearance from public life last August: he had been shot by Leonid Brezhnev's son, he was suffering from Parkinson's disease, he had had a stroke, he was recovering—or not recovering—from kidney transplant surgery. What actually happened to Andropov is much less melodramatic and far more logical. Here are the details of his recent medical history, as assembled by TIME from authorities in the U.S. and abroad:

The first medically important fact about the patient was his age at the time of death: 69, seven years beyond the average life expectancy for Soviet males. Andropov had suffered a heart attack about 20 years ago and, like nearly 10% of people over 65, he had diabetes. The combination of cardiovascular disease and diabetes made him a high-risk candidate for kidney trouble, and he was suffering from kidney problems when he assumed power in November 1982. By last February, his kidney function had become so poor that he started treatment on a dialysis machine.

Andropov's doctors were extremely sophisticated in treating cardiac and renal disorders. Despite recent reports, it was all but unthinkable that they would have even seriously considered, much less performed, a kidney transplant. The Soviet leader's age, diabetes and heart disease would have made the procedure far too risky. Instead, Andropov received increasing dialysis treatments, at first two or three times a week and eventually every other day. The treatments took place in a sanitarium near Moscow and also at a southern resort. This therapy and the successful control of complications caused by infection permitted him to resume all of his official activities late last spring after a 1½-month absence. By July he was embarked on a program of exercise and swimming to rebuild his strength and was preparing for an official visit to Bulgaria.

But Andropov's progress was halted sharply when he reportedly developed a form of leg ulcers common to diabetic patients of his age. This presented a dilemma for his doctors. To help the ulcers heal, their patient had to stay off his feet. But to regain muscular strength, much diminished by illness and confinement, he needed physical activity. The physical activity was also vital because his circulation needed to be improved in order to make the dialysis more effective. Low blood pressure hampers dialysis.

ACTIONPRESS

**Andropov in need of a helping hand last June**

The various symptoms Andropov displayed during his last appearances in public in mid-August—trembling hands, uneven gait, difficulty in getting out of his chair—were caused by muscle weakness brought on by diabetes and the kidney problems. The stiffness that observers detected in the Soviet leader's left arm was due to the repeated use of that arm for dialysis.

Andropov's ailments also made him unusually susceptible to infections and colds, which can easily develop into pneumonia in such patients. Medical concern about exposure to infectious agents was one reason for the Soviet President's absence from public meetings. His personal outside contacts were probably limited to close associates and Politburo members.

To save their leader's life, Kremlin doctors combed the world for the best technology and consultation. Equipment was imported from Japan, West Germany, France and the United States, but all treatment was administered by top Soviet physicians.

Despite the complications he suffered, Andropov remained mentally alert throughout the period; he was quite able to conduct official business from his bed. As recently as last week, Soviet doctors remained optimistic about his return to normal activity.

Upon Andropov's death, the Soviet government issued a medical report putting to rest all the rumors and confirming that he had endured a long battle with diabetes and kidney and heart disease. The document, which was signed by world-renowned Soviet Cardiologist Yevgeni Chazov and other specialists, was more extensive than the one that followed the death of Leonid Brezhnev. But its summation was just as terse: "On the 9th of February 1984, at 16 hours 50 minutes, because of heart and vascular insufficiency and the cessation of breathing, death has come."

# Standing at a Great Divide

*Will the old guard finally yield to the next generation?*

Kremlin receiving lines often provide some clues about who is up and who is down in the Soviet leadership. But when Yuri Andropov failed to appear at the annual gala marking the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution on Nov. 7, his ten comrades on the Communist Party's ruling Politburo neatly sidestepped the protocol problem. Instead of forming a line to shake hands with their guests, they bunched together behind their table in a Kremlin banquet hall. It was symbolic confirmation of the vexing problem that faced the Soviet Union as it prepared for the second transition of power in only 15 months: there was no obvious candidate to fill the vacancy left by Andropov. Says Cornell University Political Scientist Myron Rush: "Since nobody is in a strong position, practically everybody is in a strong position."

The rules of thumb that have applied in past races will undoubtedly hold true this time as well. The new Soviet leader will be chosen from among the twelve voting members of the Politburo. He is likely to be a member of the powerful party Secretariat, which controls the day-to-day affairs of the Communist Party, and he will probably be an ethnic Russian. To rule effectively, he will have to count on the support of some combination of backers from the three main pillars of Soviet power: the party bureaucracy, the military and the technocratic elite. But imponderables remain. Will the small group of men, whose average age is now 67, choose a successor from the older group and risk another short-lived regime or will they make the bold decision to turn power over to a younger generation that is thinly represented in the inner circle of power?

Should the Soviet leadership opt for age over youth, there was always standby Candidate Konstantin Chernenko, 72, who took Andropov's place on the Lenin Mausoleum during the military parade through Red Square in November and was named chairman of Andropov's funeral committee last week. Chernenko worked his way to positions on the Politburo and the Secretariat largely by serving as an aide to Leonid Brezhnev, and he was thought to have been his boss's handpicked heir. But he lost out, probably when the military and party colleagues decided to back Andropov. Since then, Chernenko has given every appearance of being a team player; he nominated Andropov for the top party post after Brezhnev's death, and for President of the Soviet Union seven months later.

Chernenko: Brezhnev's loyal aide

Ustinov: able but aging defense planner

Gromyko: the perennial Foreign Minister

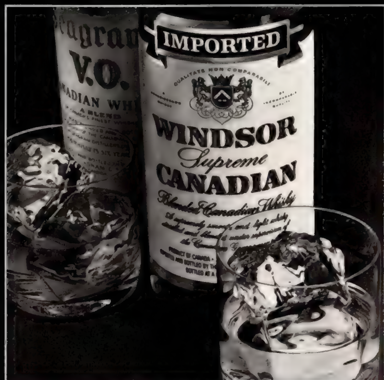
The white-haired, grandfatherly Chernenko might still be the nostalgic favorite of entrenched and aging bureaucrats who remember the old days under Brezhnev. But Chernenko's experience outside the cumbersome party machine is limited, and he has failed to project an image of strong leadership. The impression has no doubt been reinforced by his unfortunate tendency to stumble over long words while reading prepared speeches.

Still, Brezhnev's protégé could find a place in a troika of the old guard that might include such other also-rans as Premier Nikolai Tikhonov, 78, or powerful Moscow Party Boss Viktor Grishin, 69. Grishin remains a favorite compromise candidate. He has an insider's view of the party bureaucracy and saw something of the world when he traveled abroad as leader of the official trade unions movement. A younger member of the old elite, Grishin is not likely to rock the boat and could lead a caretaker government, but he lacks a position on the party Secretariat.

Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, 74, moved up one rung in the hierarchy last March when he was unexpectedly promoted to the post of First Deputy Premier. It was a clear indication that Gromyko had emerged, along with Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov, as a key powerbroker in the post-Brezhnev era. But after more than 26 years as Foreign Minister, during which he has worked with nine U.S. Secretaries of State, the "Grim Grom," as he is known in Western diplomatic circles, has not built a political power base at home. Gromyko has never appeared overly ambitious to hold his nation's highest office. A dark horse, he is more likely to stay in the stable or to find himself, like Chernenko, hitched to a troika.

As a representative of the one sector in Soviet life that appears to work, Ustinov, 75, may have the best qualifications for the party's top job. During Andropov's decline, Ustinov had already moved to the forefront to enunciate official policy on arms control and Soviet missile deployment in Eastern Europe. A mechanical engineer who spent most of his career building up the defense industry, Ustinov is keenly aware of the chronic bottlenecks in Soviet production that have accounted for sluggish economic growth. Should the ruling elite feel nervous about turning the Soviet Union's pressing agenda of problems over to an unseasoned "youth," Ustinov might prove an ideal choice as a regent in a transitional regime.

But if the steady rise of the Soviet military Establishment over the past decade has enhanced Ustinov's power, it may ultimately keep him from becoming party




**NEW TASTE TESTS PROVE IT.**

# WINDSOR CANADIAN BEATS V.O.

Two separate broad-scale taste tests were conducted in late 1983 among Canadian whisky drinkers. The results: Windsor's mild, smooth taste was chosen over the new 80-proof V.O. both times.

Try the taste of Windsor and find out for yourself why you can't beat its taste. And you certainly can't beat Windsor's price.

**WINDSOR**
ONE CANADIAN STANDS ALONE

CANADIAN WHISKY—A BLEND · 80 PROOF · IMPORTED AND BOTTLED BY THE WINDSOR DISTILLERY COMPANY, NEW YORK, N.Y. © 1984 NATIONAL DISTILLERS PRODUCTS CO

# From Germany, the new Audi 5000S luxury sedan

Over the years, Audi has developed a reputation for putting its advanced designs on the road while other car makers were still on the drawing board.

The new Audi 5000S sedan and wagon are no exception.

Having recently introduced the 5000S sedan—the automobile voted Europe's "Car of The Year"—Audi engineers then redefined the very concept of a wagon.

The result? An automobile that, like the sedan, is reshaping the world's thinking about automotive design. An automobile so advanced in its styling, there's some question as to whether it should be called a "wagon".

**The Aerodynamics Of An Exotic Sports Car.** All of the advanced styling and engineering concepts of the Audi 5000S sedan have been incorporated into the 5000S wagon.

A drag coefficient of only 0.35 results not only in one of the most "air slippery" designs ever conceived, but in the kind of performance more normally associated with sophisticated sports cars.

**Engineered For Speed And Agility.** Acceleration for both cars is brisk: 0 to 50 mph in just 8.0 seconds for the sedan, 8.4 seconds for the wagon.

Tracking and directional control are outstanding, even in strong crosswinds. Handling, cornering and general maneuverability are astounding for cars of this size and type—the result of Audi's leadership in front-wheel-drive technology and high-performance suspensions.

**Advanced Design Has Its Practical Side.** If the staid, utilitarian image of conven-

# This year's auto shows will feature a number of stunningly aerodynamic prototypes you can't buy.

# And two you can.

and wagon.

*Manufacturer's suggested retail price. Title, taxes, transportation, registration and dealer delivery charges additional. ©1983 Porsche Audi

tional wagons has kept you from buying one, the new Audi wagon is well worth your consideration.

Inherent in its dramatic styling is a wealth of carrying space. With either or both rear seats folded down, it provides a carpeted expanse over six and one-half feet in length. The tailgate opens flush with the rear deck for easy loading. Beneath the rear deck is additional hidden storage space.

The interiors of both the sedan and wagon are supremely luxurious and handsomely equipped with full instrumentation including our new, computerized Auto Check System.

To enhance the feeling of luxury, gracefully curved windows mounted flush with the roofline all but eliminate wind noise.

**Exceptional Automobiles Deserve An Exceptional Warranty.** Road tested over 3.2 million kilometers in Europe, Africa and North America, the new Audi 5000S automobiles have proven themselves to be of such high quality and reliability, we have covered them with an outstanding new 24 month unlimited mileage, limited warranty. See your local Porsche Audi dealer for complete details.

Totally innovative in design and engineering, and priced at only $16,480* for the sedan and $17,480* for the wagon, the new Audis may well be today's best automotive values.

The proof is in the test drive.

For your nearest dealer call toll-free: (800) 447-4700. PORSCHE + AUDI

**Audi: the art of engineering.**

# WHO TAKES CARE OF YOUR BUSINESS PHONES NOW THAT THE BREAKUP HAS OCCURRED?

# WE DO.

We're the people you know.

On January 1st, more than 90% of Bell's systems technicians, the folks who install and maintain your business phones, moved to AT&T Information Systems, along with many of Bell's service and marketing representatives. As AT&T Information Systems employees, we will continue to service your leased business phones at no extra cost to you.

With so many of us now at AT&T Information Systems, odds are you'll see lots of familiar faces. We're backed by the resources of the largest and most highly trained communications service organization in the world.

**CALL US FOR ALL YOUR BUSINESS PHONE NEEDS.**

We're at your local AT&T Information Systems Business Service and Sales Center. You know you can trust us to help you with equipment, systems planning, new installations and repair problems.

Call us for service you can be sure of and for phone systems backed by AT&T Bell Labs technology. We can also make service arrangements with your local operating company—from additional lines to directory listings. One call does all at **AT&T Information Systems.**

## CALL US AT 1 800 247-7000.

This "800" number automatically connects you with the office in your area.

leader. Ustinov does not currently have a foothold in the Secretariat. Indeed, the aging defense planner may be too closely linked to the military for the comfort of many party bureaucrats. Says Daniel Papp of the Georgia Institute of Technology: "Some people will oppose Ustinov for precisely the same reason that others will support him, because of his strong identification with the military-industrial complex of the Soviet Union."

Even if the leadership did want to give power to a younger man rather than risk elevating another aging leader whose tenure could rapidly turn into a death watch, the choice was very limited. Brezhnev all but closed the upper ranks of the party to youthful aspirants. Only two younger contenders are now vying for the top party post:

▸ Mikhail Gorbachev, 52, represents a new breed of better-educated Soviet technocrat. The son of peasants from the rich farming region of Stavropol in southwest Russia, Gorbachev holds a law degree from Moscow State University and another degree in agronomy from the Stavropol Agricultural Institute. His knowledge of farming, the weak link in Soviet economic planning, won him a place in the Secretariat and catapulted him into the Politburo's inner circle at the tender age of 49. Continuing failures on the farm have cut short the careers of past agricultural experts, but Gorbachev appears to be flourishing even though he has presided over a string of bad harvests (before the much improved 200 million-ton yield in 1983).

Canadian officials had a chance to size up the Kremlin's rising young star when Gorbachev led a parliamentary delegation to Ottawa in May 1983. A balding man of medium height with a birthmark on his forehead that is air-brushed out of official portraits, Gorbachev exudes confidence, authority and a willingness to learn. As he traveled to Ontario and Alberta visiting large family-owned farms and agricultural processing plants, Gorbachev repeatedly asked questions about Western farming techniques.

Gorbachev's Canadian hosts were impressed by his performance at a joint session of the Senate and House of Commons foreign affairs committee. Responding to tough questions about Soviet arms policy, the Middle East and human rights, Gorbachev presented official Soviet positions calmly and succinctly. He responded testily only when he was asked about KGB activities abroad. The notion that the Soviet Union was exporting revolution, said Gorbachev, was "nonsense, fit for the speech of uneducated people."

Gorbachev is thought to have been a personal favorite of Andropov's. He was chosen to give the keynote address at the April 22, 1983, ceremony honoring Lenin's birthday, a speech characterized by a calm, businesslike approach to national problems. Gorbachev is also said to have been given the additional responsibility of helping to make party personnel decisions. When John Chrystal, an Iowa businessman, was received at the Kremlin in November, it was Gorbachev who passed along a message from the ailing Soviet leader. Had Andropov lived longer, Gorbachev might have been groomed as heir, but his relative youth could keep him from assuming power this time around.

**Romanov: an imperial manner**

▸ Grigori Romanov, 61, is thought by some Western observers to be the odds-on favorite to succeed Andropov. A shipbuilding designer from the region of Novgorod, northwest of Moscow, he earned a degree through correspondence courses and night school. Romanov eventually became leader of the Leningrad party organization and was promoted to full membership in the Politburo when he was only 53. In June 1983 he was brought to Moscow to assume a post on the Secretariat, strengthening his position as a contender. Looking dapper and self-assured with every strand of his silver hair in place, Romanov delivered the main address at the Kremlin gathering five months later to mark the 66th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Romanov has the unflattering reputation of being abrasive and arrogant. Soviets quip that the imperial manner comes with his surname, the same as that of the Russian royal family, which was deposed in 1917. According to a widely told anecdote, Romanov ordered Leningrad's Hermitage museum to open its china closets so that guests at his daughter's wedding reception could eat in grand style. Several priceless items from Catherine the Great's dinner service were broken during the revelry. One U.S. diplomat who met with Romanov was taken aback when he rudely interrupted his interpreter to correct the translation of one of his titles. Recalls the American visitor: "The impression Romanov gave was one of boorishness and arrogance. He strutted around as if he were lord of all he surveyed."

**Gorbachev: new breed of technocrat**

Unlike most Soviet leaders, Romanov has traveled widely outside the Soviet bloc. He has been to neighboring Finland five times, France twice, and to Italy and Norway. Last January he traveled to West Germany to attend a Communist Party congress. But increased exposure to the outside world does not appear to have mellowed him much. Romanov once told a visiting U.S. delegation that he found it hard to believe that the leaders of the Democratic Party could not take steps to discipline members who did not follow the party line. Given Romanov's strong ties to the defense industry, such dogmatic views might enhance his appeal to the old guard and overcome whatever reluctance they might feel to hand the reins of power back to someone named Romanov.

Geidar Aliyev, 60, from the Muslim Transcaucasian Republic of Azerbaijan, is the most prominent of the other young contenders. Shortly after Andropov succeeded Brezhnev, Aliyev was promoted to full Politburo membership and named First Deputy Premier. Even if Aliyev is passed over, says Cornell's Rush, "he certainly has a future as somebody's strong-arm lieutenant."

Vitali Vorotnikov, 58, a party bureaucrat whom Brezhnev once banished to the Soviet embassy in Havana, advanced rapidly under Andropov. But he is too new to the Politburo to figure prominently in this race. The handful of men who govern the Soviet Union now stand at a great historical and psychological divide. Most of them can measure the history of the Communist regime by the decades in their lives. They were born and reared amid revolution, reached maturity during despotism and global war, and grew old building a fortress nation second to none. As they choose a successor to Andropov, the old guard may feel reluctant to pass this awesome legacy to an untried younger generation, as if the transfer were somehow not inevitable. But the paradox remains that the longer the old men cling to power, the more they endanger the very thing they have sought to preserve: stability. —***By John Kohan.*** ***Reported by Erik Amfitheatrof/Moscow and Raji Samghabadi/New York, with other bureaus***

T-72 tanks crossing the countryside in Eastern Europe during maneuvers

Airmen walk away from a row of Su-17 jet fighters



# A "One-Dimensional" World Power

*In a mobilized society, the military's influence is pervasive*

Unlike Leonid Brezhnev, who loved to wear row upon row of medals, Yuri Andropov kept his army general's uniform in the closet. But if the late Soviet leader gave every appearance of being a civilian, his ties to the military Establishment came under increasing scrutiny during his brief tenure. Andropov, it was believed, owed a debt to the military because Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov had backed him in the race to succeed Brezhnev. In what many saw as a disquieting sign of the brass hats' growing power, it was the military's Chief of Staff, Nikolai Ogarkov, who stepped forward to explain the Soviet decision to shoot down Korean Air Line Flight 007 last September. Now, as the Soviets go through another transition, a critical question remains unanswered. Does the military play an increasingly influential role within the closed world of the Kremlin?

Beyond the medieval crenelated walls of the Moscow citadel, Soviet society certainly seems to the outsider to be in a permanent state of mobilization. In the streets of the Soviet capital, civilians stand patiently in long, dreary lines outside shops, as if wartime rationing were still in force, while above them huge 1930s-style posters show jut-jawed young men and women shouting slogans. Columns of army trucks filled with uniformed soldiers can sometimes be seen rumbling through city centers. There is even a military presence at soccer matches, when soldiers encircle the playing field to keep rowdy fans in order. Every town of any importance has a monument to the 20 million Soviets who died in World War II. Often the memorials are guarded by rosy-cheeked youths who carry automatic rifles (unloaded) and wear the red neckerchief of the Pioneers, the Soviet equivalent of scouts. On their wedding day, young brides and grooms go to war memorials to lay floral tributes to fallen soldiers. On park benches, old men playing chess wear rows of ribbons that attest to their military service.

The Reagan Administration has based its defense and arms-control policies on the premise that for the first time the Soviet Union has moved significantly ahead in most important measures of military power. The U.S.S.R. has outstripped the U.S. in weapons production over the past decade. According to a Pentagon report issued last year, the Soviets have built 2,000 ICBMs, compared with 350 for the U.S.; 6,000 new combat aircraft, *vs.* 3,000 for the U.S.; 85 new surface warships, compared with 72 for the U.S.; and 61 attack submarines, against 27 for the U.S. When it comes to tanks and armored vehicles, the U.S.S.R. has outproduced the U.S. by 54,000 to 11,000. According to Zbigniew Brzezinski, National Security Adviser in the Carter Administration, Moscow's arms buildup at the expense of development in other areas has turned the Soviet Union into a "one-dimensional" world power.

Despite the ominous portents, many experts dispute the notion that under Andropov the military significantly gained power as an institution. They hold that the armed services have been, and will continue to be, a faithful servant of the party. The Soviet Union, says University of Edinburgh Political Science Professor John Erickson, has "a neutralized military Establishment in a militarized state." A Soviet analyst explains the phenomenon differently: "What many Westerners do not understand is that in our system the military truly does take orders from the party. They are like a fire brigade. They are called out when there is a fire and then go back to the fire station. They know their place. Their role has always been a subordinate one."

When the Red Army was organized, party leaders were careful to assign political commissars to carry on propaganda work among the rank and file, a system that is still in effect today. The chain of command in the Soviet military ensures that the Communist Party is in charge *(see chart)*. Explains Uri Ra'anan of the Fletcher School of Tufts University: "Soviet military doctrine is not made by military people. It is made by the Defense Council, which is overwhelmingly run by the party leadership."

The all pervasive role of the military in Soviet life ultimately has little to do with the ebb and flow of Kremlin politics and intraparty squabbling. Protecting the homeland has been an obsession of Russian leaders throughout the centuries, as they contended with Mongol hordes from the East and Teutonic knights from the West. That overriding concern will not change with a new man in power. Says a West European diplomat in Moscow: "If Ustinov says to the Politburo, 'Comrades, I cannot guarantee the security of the state unless the military gets X, Y, Z,' he gets X, Y, Z. Security takes precedence over everything."

The current preoccupation with national survival began with the Nazi surprise attack on June 22, 1941, a date that

after completing a test flight

Aboard the aircraft carrier *Minsk* are Yak-36MP Forger vertical-takeoff-and-landing combat jets

flickers like an eternal flame in the memory of all Soviets. At a time when faith in the official ideology is faltering, continuing calls from the Communist leadership to remember the suffering of the war years are aimed at forging a patriotic link with the nation. Ustinov used the theme to express Soviet concern with new threats to national survival in his Victory Day address last May: "The experience of World War II convincingly shows us that to prevent [war's] outbreak one has to have united, coordinated offensive action by all the peace-loving forces."

Soviet strategists talk of the need to avert nuclear war but they are still prepared to fight one, if necessary. Unlike the U.S., the Soviet Union has an extensive paramilitary civil defense system that employs 100,000 people. Many foreign analysts think such a program indicates Moscow believes it can survive a nuclear war. But Soviet citizens pessimistically refer to the organization by its acronym, GROB, which means coffin in Russian. No amount of security seems to affect the psychology of insecurity. After a local official in the republic of Georgia had a briefing for party activists to explain the Andropov attack on Reagan policies, he was approached by women on the verge of tears who wanted to know if there was going to be a war.

Whatever Washington may say about the Kremlin's growing military might, there is no sign that Soviet civilian leaders or the military establishment feel more secure today. Observed London's respected weekly, the *Economist*: "Their insecurity problem has become other people's security problem."

A major difficulty in sizing up the Soviet military machine is figuring out how much it costs. The Kremlin publishes a single figure for its defense budget each year ($22.8 billion in 1983), but Western intelligence experts believe the true amount is ten times as large. Still there is a wide margin for error. Though the CIA had reported that the Soviets were increasing military spending by 4% a year, agency analysts published a report last November stating that the rate of growth may have been only 2% in each of the past seven years.

The truth is that no one really knows how much the Soviets spend to maintain their status as a superpower. The Soviet civilian and military sectors are simply too intertwined to separate. The military today is the principal consumer of Soviet industrial output, with at least 135 major defense plants and 3,500 related factories across the country. Typically, the aviation plant that manufactures MiG-25 fighters also makes domestic products like washing machines. The logic is simple: a factory that produces tanks on one assembly line and tractors on another can easily expand military output in the event of war. Says Robert Pfaltzgraff, president of the Massachusetts-based Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis: "The Soviet Union *is* a military-industrial complex."

The civilian economy is the clear loser in this arrangement. To ensure that the military receives the very best, uniformed officers oversee production from the start of research and development until the finished product rolls off the assembly line. If they accept only one of 100 electrical switches, for example, the rest will find their way into the civilian economy. Says a Western businessman with long trading experience in the Soviet Union: "If a tank comes down the line and something is not right, they get the workers to do it over again. But civilian assembly lines are allowed to turn out junk."

The defense sector suffers few of the shortcomings of the civilian economy. One reason is that the military makes little pretense of being egalitarian. A 22-year-old graduate of a technical institute who lands a job in a military plant discovers immediately that he is working with superior equipment. Moreover, since defense industries are given priority in raw materials, the factory producing arms has a much better chance of meeting or exceeding production targets. For the worker this means consistently higher bonuses than his civilian counterparts are likely to receive, plus such valued perks as better housing. By contrast, civilian employees have few incentives to work harder.

Moreover, while competition is all but unknown in the civilian sector, more than one design bureau might be asked to develop the same weapon. After years of close cooperation with the military establishment, several "families" of weapons producers have evolved. The Sukhoi and Mikoyan-Gurevich design bureaus, for example, produce Sukhoi and MiG jet fighters. Missiles are the specialty of the Yangel, Chelomei and Nadiradze bureaus. Often, test models from rival firms will be put into production simultaneously. The result: in a country where the selection of shoes or overcoats is limited, there are six different types of interceptor jets.

The Soviets are convinced they have no choice but to operate their military sector with such rigor: they know they can force their citizens to wear ill-fitting shoes but they cannot afford to fall far behind the West's steady technological innovation. In some cases, designers have tried to keep up with Western models. The MiG-23, for example, has the "swing-wing" look of the U.S. F-111. The need to adapt foreign ideas and keep up technologically with foreign military equipment has introduced a capitalist-like competitiveness to military production that is woefully lacking in the domestic economy, where shoddy goods do not face the test of the marketplace. As a leading Soviet economist, Academician Vadim Trapeznikov says, "One of the mainsprings of progress is the comparison of the quality of goods with that of the products of other domestic and foreign firms. This is partic-

ularly apparent in the defense industry, where there is a permanent and inevitable comparison with foreign technology."

If much of the Soviet Union's industrial output cannot compete on world markets, its weaponry certainly can. Moscow has a political interest in meddling in Third World conflicts, but economics as well as ideology has driven the Soviets to become major players in the booming weapons market: foreign sales keep Soviet production lines operating at a lower cost per item and bring in badly needed hard currency. Between 1971 and 1981, Soviet arms sales to the Third World earned an estimated $21 billion in hard currency. Says U.S. Under Secretary for Political Affairs Lawrence Eagleburger: "Arms have become a larger portion of exports from the U.S.S.R. than from any other country."

The Soviet Union's arms clients are useful in providing valuable information on the strengths and weaknesses of Soviet weapons. The reports are not always upbeat. During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, the Syrian army lost more than 390 tanks, including 34 of the modern T-72s. The Syrian performance in the air was no better. Flying U.S.-built F-15s and F-16s, Israeli pilots downed 96 Soviet-built jets: one-fifth were newer-model MiG-25s and MiG-23s. Israeli pilots also wiped out 23 batteries of Soviet-built surface-to-air missiles. The official Soviet press dismissed the reports as CIA disinformation, but the Kremlin took them seriously enough and quickly dispatched several high-level military delegations to survey the destruction.

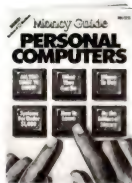
U.S. military analysts warn that such performances should not lead the West to become too complacent. Many of the Soviet weapons sold abroad are stripped-down older models; often they are used by poorly trained troops. As an example of a first-rate Soviet product, American experts point to the Kalashnikov AK-47 assault rifle. Simple, reliable and versatile, it is the favored weapon of guerrillas from Central America to Southeast Asia. The Soviet-built RPG-7 antitank rocket launcher is also easy to operate and has proved lethal in the fighting in Lebanon.

Still, even Soviet servicemen equipped with the best Soviet weaponry often fall short of the Pentagon's image of the Soviet military as a fighting force. On paper, for example, Soviet air-defense forces command a string of 7,000 radar installations and 2,300 interceptor jets. Yet the fact that two Korean civilian aircraft were able to stray into Soviet airspace without being rapidly intercepted suggests that the defense shield is sievelike in spots.

The formidable Soviet fleet also has flaws, despite its success at projecting Soviet power in ports of call from Cuba to Mauritius. Although larger than the U.S. Navy in numbers of warships, the Soviet surface fleet still lacks anything as sophis-

**Youths march in Kiev, top; citizens commemorate the battle of Stalingrad and, at the Kremlin, the German defeat in World War II**

# **Money**'s Complete Guide to Personal Computers




Here's an easy-to-read guidebook that tells you everything you should know about computers before you talk to a salesman.

MONEY's Complete Guide to Personal Computers is the step-by-step source that will help you select a system flexible enough to fill your requirements now and expand to meet your growing needs.

Written and edited by MONEY's expert staff, this guide tells you about the technology . . . hardware and software . . . machine languages . . . modems, peripherals, and more.

**From the Table of Contents**

- What is a Computer?
- What Can a Computer Do?
- Choosing the Right Computer
- Buying Guide
- Help After You Buy
- Personal Finance

It talks frankly about the wide variety of systems on the market and lists, describes and explains the characteristics of the newest, fastest personal computer systems. And suggests six you might purchase for under $1,000. Send for it today.

To receive your copy of MONEY's Complete Guide to Personal Computers, send your name and address with your check for $2.95 payable to MONEY to:

**Money Personal Computer Guide**
**Box 999**
**Radio City Station**
**New York, NY 10019**

© 1983 Time Inc.

***Memorable dining*** *at the Palmer House is a tradition with Chicago business—whether it's luncheon for two in the Empire Room or dinner for 1,700 in the Grand Ballroom. We've just spent $35 million to keep all the traditions of the Palmer House as contemporary as they are legendary.*

*For reservations, call 312-726-7500, your Hilton Reservation Service or travel advisor.*

*Palmer House and Towers*
A HILTON HOTEL • CHICAGO

**THE PALMER HOUSE.**
**THE CHICAGO HOTEL AMERICA'S BUSINESS KNOWS BEST.**

Now in paperback

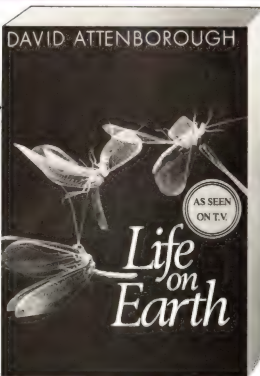
## *"The best introduction to natural history ever written."*

*—Desmond Morris*

The full text and every extraordinary photograph from the bestselling original edition are in this oversized paperback companion to the acclaimed TV series. "In a quite literal sense, it will give you a new perspective on life." —*Christian Science Monitor*

"A lucid and sumptuously illustrated book . . . bound to captivate any reader." —*Chicago Sun-Times*

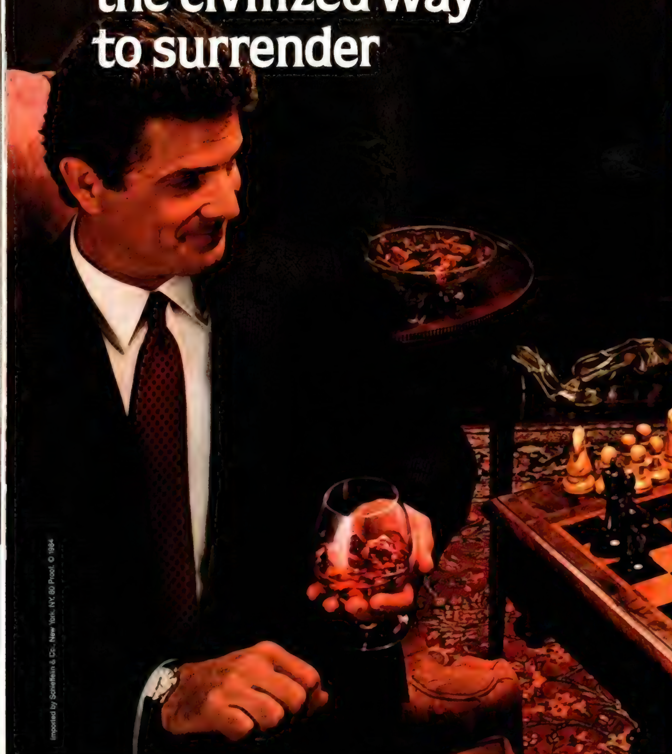
"There is little in nature that seems beyond Mr. Attenborough's powers of comprehension." —*New York Times Book Review*




With 134 pages in full color.
$14.95 paperback

LITTLE, BROWN and COMPANY

Hennessy
the civilized way to surrender

The world's most civilized spirit
COGNAC
Hennessy
VERY SPECIAL

"Grand Coulee Dam was born of the same bold imagination that fuels many of today's emerging growth companies."

Robert E. Brennan, President, First Jersey Securities

Rising 550 feet above the bedrock of the mighty Columbia River in Washington State, Grand Coulee Dam is the largest concrete structure in the world. A tribute to bold imagination.

Fifty years ago the land here was plagued by drought. Then someone with imagination had an idea. Damming the Columbia would create a vast reservoir to provide irrigation for all. At the same time, harnessing its power would mean electricity for the entire region.

By 1941 the 'idea' was at work, transforming half a million dry acres into rich farms that produce millions of dollars worth of crops annually, and generating power valued at about $1.8 billion.

Today the same kind of bold imagination that built this country fuels hundreds of small to midsize companies whose new ideas, new jobs and new technologies will continue to build America.

First Jersey Securities is a nationwide investment firm providing capital for such emerging growth companies. If you are an investor with vision and want to discuss current investment opportunities, please contact us.

First Jersey Securities, Inc.

50 Broadway, New York, NY

New York, NY • San Diego, CA • San Mateo, CA • Darien, CT • North Palm Beach, FL • St. Petersburg, FL • Atlanta, GA • Columbus, GA • Mount Prospect, IL • Shawnee Mission, KS • New Orleans, LA • Danvers, MA • Creve Coeur, MO • Raleigh, NC • Cherry Hill, NJ • Paterson, NJ • Red Bank, NJ • Woodbridge, NJ • Buffalo, NY • Latham, NY • Nanuet, NY • Rochester, NY • Cincinnati, OH • Lancaster, PA • Wayne, PA • Houston, TX • Irving, TX • Falls Church, VA • Virginia Beach, VA

Come grow with us

Introducing the most powerful, value-packed business solutions in their field. We call 'em...

# WORKHORSES

Don't be left behind in the stampede towards small business computers. Get your hands on a workhorse from ALTOS,* one of the three leading U.S. suppliers.*

For starters, Altos systems provide the truly integrated computer solutions businesses demand. Solutions that can be easily modified, upgraded and expanded to fit your growing needs.

Unlike most computers, a powerful 16-bit Altos multi-user microcomputer system lets up to a half dozen people share computer resources simultaneously. One computer, for example, can quickly perform order entry, accounting, inventory control and financial planning applications—all at the same time.

Altos systems come with many advanced features built-in. You can easily add more data storage and peripherals, or team up other Altos workhorses in a reliable and flexible low-cost network.

Altos Software Availability Program lets you choose from over 100 packages including a wide range of industry business applications.

Prompt nationwide service is available from the Customer Service Division of TRW, Inc.** with ongoing support from your qualified Altos dealer.

Now's the time to hitch your wagon to our team of powerful, value-packed, field-proven workhorses. Your Altos dealer can harness a complete business solution that's just right for you. For an appointment, call, write or return the coupon today.

## Packed with more value for business

☐ Please tell me more about the workhorses from Altos.
☐ My application is ______
☐ Have an Altos dealer contact me for an appointment.

Name ______ Title ______
Company ______ Phone ______
Address ______
City/State/Zip ______

Mail to: Altos Marketing Services, 2641 Orchard Park Way, San Jose, CA 95134

TIC-2

**Call: 800-538-7872**

(In Calif., 800-662-6265)

ALTOS COMPUTER SYSTEMS

*Source: DATAQUEST - 7/29/83. Estimated U.S. Market Shares of Leading Very Small Business Computer Suppliers (IBM, Tandy & Altos - ranked 1, 2 & 3). **TRW - continental U.S.; DATAFORCE—Canada. ALTOS—a registered trademark of Altos Computer Systems. ©1983 Altos Computer Systems.

# LINE ONE SERVICE IS HERE TO KEEP CHICAGO'S BUSINESS MOVING.

**LINE ONE℠ Mobile Service, from Ameritech Mobile Communications, Inc., is the revolutionary new mobile phone service that has made Chicago this country's first cellular telephone city.**

LINE ONE Service is here to make sure you keep your business moving while you're on the move. Keeping in touch even when you're on the road is essential if you're going to keep on top.

And keeping in touch is only the beginning. With LINE ONE Service you've got time with just your phone to discuss plans, organize your business, talk over key issues with people. LINE ONE Service can make your car time the most productive time of your day.

LINE ONE Service is a product of Ameritech Mobile Communications, Inc., which upon divestiture from AT&T, will become a part of Ameritech, the parent of the Bell telephone companies for the Great Lakes area.

With LINE ONE Service you know you're getting Bell quality because our system was developed by Bell Laboratories. Our advanced cellular service is a technological breakthrough in mobile communications. The quality we've built in means you have your own line, the tone is clear, and you can call or be called from anywhere in the world.

If you're in your car more than 30 minutes each day, LINE ONE Service is no option. It's the one connection you need if you're going anywhere in business.℠

For information on how to buy LINE ONE Service today, and how to reach your nearest LINE ONE Authorized Agent, write: Ameritech Mobile Communications, Inc., 1501 Woodfield Road, Suite 200E, Schaumburg, IL 60195, or call **1-800-662-4531.**

LINEONE℠
MOBILE SERVICE

© Copyright 1983 Ameritech Mobile Communications, Inc.

AMERITECH MOBILE COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

ticated as a U.S. aircraft carrier. Soviet nuclear-powered submarines are thought to give off so much radiation that Soviet sailors morbidly joke that members of the northern fleet are easily identifiable because they glow in the dark. During the past eight months, one nuclear sub foundered in deep water off the Siberian peninsula of Kamchatka and a second was disabled off the U.S. East Coast when the craft's propeller became entangled in an undersea surveillance cable.

No matter how sweeping Admiral Sergei Gorshkov's vision of a navy that can "protect state interests on the seas and oceans," his fleet cannot transcend the limitations of geography. Reports that some 40 freighters and tankers were trapped in ice-clogged Arctic seas last fall underscore the restraints that the absence of warm-water ports has imposed on Russian dreams of being a maritime power. Two of the Soviet Union's four fleets can gain access to the sea only through strategic waterways that are not under Soviet control, the Baltic Sea and the Dardanelles.

Pentagon officials are particularly concerned about the quantitative lead the Soviet Union holds in manpower with its 3.7 million men, in contrast to 2.1 million for the U.S. The Soviet conscription system is indeed impressive. On a single day every spring and autumn, about half a million 18-year-old males cram into flag-bedecked train stations across the Soviet Union as they set off to begin mandatory military service. Except for those who have been selected for three-year stints in the navy and border guard, the new draftees will begin two years of rigorous training, living in spartan barracks and eating such fare as greasy soup, cabbage, potatoes and salted fish. In the event of war, the military can draft 5 million more men from active reserve and an additional 40 million who are obliged to answer the call until age 50.

But the Soviet fighting machine may not be as awesome as the one that NATO strategists sometimes conjure up. When the situation in Poland deteriorated in December 1980 and Soviet divisions were put in a heightened state of readiness, the Carpathian, Baltic and Byelorussian military districts called up reservists. According to unconfirmed reports, the exercise was a shambles. Many failed to show up, and some who responded to the call-up deserted rather than spend cold nights in tents. By the end of January 1981, five of the ten top posts in commands bordering on Poland had changed hands, a signal that all was not well on the western front.

After four years in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union's "limited contingent" of 105,000 men still seems far from winning a decisive victory over anti-Communist rebels. Moscow's forces had not previously engaged in combat outside the Soviet bloc since 1945, and from the start they appeared to be unprepared for the mujahedin's hit-and-run guerrilla tactics. In recent months, Soviet military journals have devoted considerable space to the problems of mountain combat, pointing out that Soviet soldiers have not been adequately trained to cope with communication and equipment breakdowns in rugged terrain with fluctuating temperatures.

Military officials have found it difficult to meld a national, Russian-speaking army from the more than 100 ethnic groups in the Soviet population. Whatever suspicions the leadership might have had about the political reliability of non-Slavic minorities were reinforced when Central Asian reservists assigned to Afghanistan began buying Korans and passing ammunition and guns to Muslim rebels. Not surprisingly, the majority of conscripts who are assigned to noncombat battalions are believed to come from non-Slavic minorities.

**Newlyweds traditionally pose before the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier**

*Soviet society seems to be in a permanent state of mobilization.*

Such examples of cracks in the formidable Soviet military façade suggest that some Pentagon analysts have become mesmerized by the sheer size of the Soviet colossus. Indeed, a number of skeptics within the Western military Establishment have long believed that NATO and U.S. assessments of the Soviet machine represent "threat inflation," the deliberate overstatement of Soviet might in order to win larger budgets for weapons programs. Says Andrew Cockburn, author of *The Threat: Inside the Soviet Military Machine:* "It may be that the military on either side is engaged not so much in an arms race as in simply doing what it wants for its own institutional reasons. The other side is relevant only in that it serves as a convenient excuse for these unilateral activities."

Even if that is so, a Soviet army vastly inferior in weaponry to today's ground forces defended Stalingrad against the Nazis in an epic, five-month struggle that was a turning point in World War II. The Soviets astonished the world again in October 1957 when they launched the first artificial satellite, Sputnik, despite a technological gap with the West far greater than the present one. And whatever account one believes of the Korean Air Lines calamity, the fact remains that a Soviet pilot did fire on the intruding jumbo jet. Given the growing size and complexity of both superpower arsenals, there is every reason to be concerned about the risk of future accidents and conflicts.

Confronted with the Reagan Administration's commitment to an improvement in U.S. defense, the new Kremlin leadership will face tough choices as it decides how to allocate resources in its new Five-Year Plan, due to begin in 1986. There are already signs that the Soviet military-industrial complex may be feeling the squeeze. Among the 25 principal classes of armament, production has declined in 13 between 1977 and 1981. That drop may indicate that the Kremlin has built its arsenal up to strength. But it could also reflect the stagnation in the civilian economy, as producers fail to supply quality steel and as bottlenecks in rail transport hold up vital raw materials needed by defense contracts.

If the military is impatient about the inefficiency and corruption that have settled into the Soviet civilian economy, that concern has not resulted in changes that will challenge the status quo. Explains a Soviet analyst: "Whatever its deficiencies, central planning served us well when we had to mobilize the energies of the population in World War II. Is this really the time to start trying experiments when the nation is again in peril? This is what the military will be asking."

For the foreseeable future, the long-suffering Soviet consumer will have to continue paying for the inherent contradiction of Soviet society: the desire to be a military superpower while having the economy of a semiadvanced nation. Says Economist Marshall Goldman, associate director of Harvard's Russian Research Center: "The Soviets have the slimmest waistlines in the world. They can always tighten their belts another notch."

But the new man in the Kremlin will have to face a fundamental if revolutionary fact: the Soviet Union will be able truly to change only when it is ruled by people who realize that there are measures of international prestige other than numbers of missiles, tanks and men. —***By John Kohan. Reported by Erik Amfitheatrof/Moscow and Bruce van Voorst/Washington***

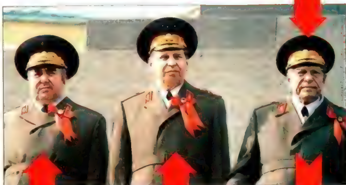
# Who's Who in the Brass

At its highest levels, the sprawling Soviet military narrows into a streamlined chain of command. Directly under Minister of Defense Dmitri Ustinov, a member of the top-secret Defense Council headed by Andropov, are Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact forces, and Chief of the General Staff Nikolai Ogarkov. The commanders of the Soviet services take their orders from Ogarkov.

In contrast to the four branches of the U.S. military (Navy, Army, Air Force, Marines), the Soviets have five. The strategic rocket forces are the most prestigious, and form the core of the nuclear weapons arsenal. Next is the oldest and largest of the services, the land forces. Instead of a single air force, the Soviets have two: the elite air defense forces, which protect Soviet airspace (and shot down the Korean airliner in September), and the air forces, which are responsible for offensive missions. Despite its impressive growth, the Soviet navy ranks last in the rigid Soviet military hierarchy.

USTINOV

**KULIKOV, 62, is principally responsible for the Warsaw Pact forces, which include more than 1 million Polish, Hungarian, Czechoslovak, Rumanian, Bulgarian and East German troops. He was a dashing tank commander in 1945, and became Chief of the General Staff in 1971. Kulikov is known as a stern disciplinarian who has no reservations about having deserters shot.**



**USTINOV, 75, commands more than 4.8 million Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops. Tapped by Stalin as wartime Commissar of Armaments, Ustinov became an expert on weaponry and an unusually efficient administrator, rising to direct the key Defense Industry Ministry. In 1976 he became the first civilian to head the military since the Russian Revolution.**

C in C WARSAW PACT FORCES: KULIKOV

CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF: OGARKOV

**OGARKOV, 66, is the Soviet Union's top strategist. He began as a Red Army officer during World War II. A senior member of the Soviet team in the SALT I and II negotiations, he made his name as an arms-control expert. Chief of the General Staff since 1977, Ogarkov proved himself a polished performer when he publicly defended the Soviet downing of the Korean jetliner.**

ROCKET FORCES

**VLADIMIR TOLUBKO, 69, has some 2,000 strategic and intermediate-range nuclear missiles under his direct control. A Ukrainian, Tolubko began his career as leader of a tank brigade during World War II. A soldier's soldier, he was promoted to his current position in 1972 after a stint as commander of Soviet forces in the Far East during the border clashes with China.**

GROUND FORCES

**VASILI PETROV, 67, commands 1.8 million ground troops and 50,000 tanks. A 5-ft. 5-in. dynamo, he is considered to be a decisive and brilliant strategist. In 1977 he served as a senior adviser in Ethiopia and helped defeat Somalia in the Ogaden desert war. Promoted to his current position in 1980, he is considered a likely successor to Kulikov as Warsaw Pact commander.**

AIR DEFENSE FORCES

**ALEXANDER KOLDUNOV, 60, is commander of the 630,000-man air defense forces. He first came to prominence as a fighter ace in World War II; he is credited with shooting down 46 enemy planes. After the war he headed various fighter units before rising to commander of the key Moscow air defense district in 1970. He moved to the top spot in 1978.**

AIR FORCES

**PAVEL KUTAKHOV, 69, directs the 475,000 airmen and 6,780 combat aircraft and armored helicopters of the offensive air forces. An authentic war hero, he was marked for leadership after flying 367 combat missions in which he shot down 14 enemy planes during World War II. Kutakhov was promoted to commander in chief of the air forces in 1969.**

NAVAL FORCES

**SERGEI GORSHKOV, 73, has in 27 years as commander in chief of the naval forces turned a small defensive flotilla into a versatile force that flies the Soviet flag on every ocean. The most prominent if not the most powerful of the Soviet top brass, Gorshkov became the youngest admiral in Soviet history at 31. Gorshkov has played a crucial part in altering the strategic equation between the two superpowers.**

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

SOFT PACK 100s FILTER, MENTHOL: 2 mg. "tar", 0.2 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report MAR. '83.

Competitive tar levels reflect either the Mar '83 FTC Report or FTC method

NOW THE LOWEST OF ALL BRANDS

5 mg 5 mg 5 mg 6 mg

MERIT Ultra Lights

KENT III

Carlton 100's

BENSON & HEDGES 100's DeLuxe Ultra Lights

20 FILTER CIGARETTES

NOW

100s

2 mg

Lowest Tar 100s
Soft Pack

# We've got your number.

©1983 R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

# An Enigmatic Study in Gray

*Yuri Andropov: 1914-1984*

A former KGB chief, it was said, would never be allowed to rule the Soviet Union. Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov confounded such predictions when he assumed control of the country's Communist Party in November 1982. Within seven months, Andropov had also secured the important title of Chairman of the Defense Council and been elected President of the Soviet Union. It had taken his predecessor, Leonid Brezhnev, 13 years to accumulate all the same trappings of power. The new Soviet leader, it seemed, was a man in a hurry.

Compared with the exuberant bear-hugging Brezhnev, Andropov appeared stern, almost ascetic in his thick glasses. He impressed Western visitors to the Kremlin with his command of facts, his sharpness of mind and his sardonic sense of humor. But somehow a sense of his true personality always seemed to elude them. The Soviet leader, French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson remarked after a trip to Moscow in February 1983, was "extraordinarily devoid of the passion and human warmth" that he had encountered elsewhere in the country.

To the Soviet people, Andropov seemed a study in gray, as enigmatic as the fleeting smile he showed now and again in official photographs. Given Andropov's years at the helm of the Committee for State Security (in Russian, *Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti*, or KGB), some of his countrymen feared that he would turn out to be a reconstructed Stalinist, intent on imposing order on a society grown lax and corrupt in Brezhnev's final years. Others wishfully thought that he might emerge as a liberal, eager to improve relations with the West and reform the Soviet Union's cumbersome system of centralized planning. Andropov proved to be neither. Having taken hold of the reins of power late in life, he found his grip too feeble to alter the course of a nation of 271 million.

After Brezhnev's long, debilitating illness, many in the Soviet Union had hoped that his successor would be able to project a reassuring image of vigor and strength. But as early as Andropov's appearance at the state reception following Brezhnev's funeral, many foreign dignitaries were struck by the telltale signs of frailty and age that belied his reputation for mental agility. During the visit of Finnish President Mauno Koivisto in June 1983, Andropov had to be helped to his seat at a Kremlin banquet. When the Soviet leader met with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl the following month, his eyes were clear and alert, but his right hand visibly shook.

Andropov was last seen in public on Aug. 18, when he met for almost two hours with a group of U.S. Senators. He looked pale but seemed attentive and sharp throughout the session. Andropov's health deteriorated following a vacation in the Crimea in September. The leadership took pains to minimize the importance of Andropov's disquieting disappearance from public view. Letters were issued over his signature, and statements were published in his name in the Soviet press. He remained conspicuously absent during the international crisis that erupted when a Soviet pilot shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007, killing the 269 civilians aboard. Any lingering doubts that Andropov was seriously ill were dispelled when he failed to appear at Red Square on Nov. 7 for the military parade honoring the 66th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Even the ailing Brezhnev had managed to turn up for the 1982 ceremony, three days before his death. Andropov also missed the next key events on the Soviet political calendar: meetings of the Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet in December. During both sessions, his seat was vacant.

SVEN SIMON

**During a meeting in the Kremlin in January 1983**

*Neither a liberal nor an unreconstructed Stalinist.*

Andropov had encouraged expectations of change when, barely a month after he came to power, he delivered a brutally frank diagnosis of the nation's ailing economy. "You cannot get things moving by slogans alone," he told the party's Central Committee. "Shoddy work, inactivity and irresponsibility," he said, should have an influence on wages and rank. After the lassitude of Brezhnev's final years, Andropov initially projected the image of a cool, pragmatic leader intent on tackling the Soviet Union's major problems.

To match words with deeds, the former KGB chief launched a nationwide campaign to tighten discipline and encourage efficiency and sobriety in the workplace. Police even raided stores, movie theaters and bathhouses in search of "shirkers" who should have been on the job. Andropov carried his campaign to the shop floor of Moscow's Ordzhonikidze machine-tool factory, assuring workers that he intended to get tough with everyone, "beginning with the ministers." He did. The official press carried stories of key bureaucrats who were summarily sacked and even executed after they were caught taking bribes.

The approach seemed to pay off. During the first three months of 1983, worker productivity climbed 3.9%, compared with 1.5% for the same period the previous year. Once the shock effect of the disciplinary measures had worn off, that performance could not be sustained. In a speech to the Central Committee that Andropov was too ill to deliver in person, the Soviet leader urged his compatriots "not to lose the tempo and the general positive intent to get things going." But Andropov proved unable to deal with the most intractable problem in the Soviet Union's sluggish economy: a cumbersome system of centralized planning that all but smothers creativity and initiative.

Andropov proposed a new reform program designed to give local managers in a limited number of target factories greater freedom to allocate funds and set production goals. But the experiments were too small in scope to loosen the tentacular grip of Moscow's central planners. Under Andropov, the Soviet leadership continued Brezhnev's ineffectual policy of throwing money at agriculture. Despite the introduction of a program that gave small teams of farmers greater incentives to be productive, agriculture remained the Achilles' heel of the Soviet economy.

Andropov also failed to achieve his top foreign policy goal: preventing the deployment of new U.S. Pershing II and

cruise missiles in Western Europe. Pursuing what at first seemed to be a shrewd propaganda offensive, the Soviet leader tried to exploit the burgeoning West European peace movement. In a flagrant attempt to influence the outcome of West Germany's national elections in March 1983, he dispatched Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to Bonn to encourage West Germans, in effect, to cast their ballots for the Social Democratic Party, which was far more skeptical of the NATO missile plan than was the Christian Democratic government of Chancellor Kohl. But the effort backfired, and Kohl and his coalition won with a large majority. His government stood by its commitment to accept the new nuclear weapons if there was no breakthrough in U.S.-Soviet negotiations in Geneva on limiting intermediate-range nuclear forces. With no progress in sight, the first missiles were deployed in Britain and West Germany. The Soviets walked out of the Geneva talks on intermediate-range missiles and indefinitely postponed the resumption of strategic-arms negotiations and talks aimed at reducing conventional forces in Europe.

Andropov had no more success in other areas. He singled out former Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua and Pakistani President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq for special attention following Brezhnev's funeral, prompting speculation that he would move to improve relations with Peking and try to bring the war in Afghanistan to an end. But Sino-Soviet negotiators ended their third round of talks last October without any major breakthrough. Despite hints that Andropov was looking for a way to withdraw his country's 105,000 troops from Afghanistan, the war continues with nothing but Soviet military might to hold the Marxist regime in Kabul in power.

The Middle East was perhaps the only region of the world in which the potential for Soviet troublemaking increased during Andropov's short tenure, complicating U.S. efforts to bring peace to war-torn Lebanon. Syria had suffered the humiliating loss of 96 aircraft and more than 390 tanks during Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon. In response, the Soviets sent an estimated $2 billion worth of weapons and more than 5,000 advisers and technicians to Syria. The arsenal included SA-5 long-range (150- to 180-mile) antiaircraft missiles capable of striking aircraft over much of Israel.

Meanwhile, relations with the U.S. rapidly deteriorated. Andropov may have had success in persuading Samantha Smith, the fifth-grader from Manchester, Me., who wrote to him, that the Soviet Union was interested in improving relations "with such a great country as the U.S." But the Reagan Administration was quick to voice skepticism about the sincerity of those sentiments. Following the Korean-airliner disaster, President Reagan accused the Soviet Union of committing "a crime against humanity." Moscow responded by taking the offensive. After Reagan unveiled new arms-control proposals last September, Andropov issued a statement with the most comprehensive denunciation of a U.S. Administration since the chilliest days of the cold war. Said the Soviet leader: "Even if someone had any illusions about the possible evolution for the better of the policy of the present Administration, the latest developments have finally dispelled them."

Reagan sought to bring about a thaw in the superpower chill when he acknowledged in a speech last month that "our working relationship with the Soviet Union is not what it must be." By that time, all hope for a summit between Reagan and Andropov had passed. A final interview published under Andropov's name in *Pravda* offered no new counterproposal for breaking the deadlock. Instead, it repeated earlier calls for the U.S. and its NATO allies to "display readiness" to return to the situation that had existed before missiles were deployed in Western Europe.

Andropov's time in power may have been marked by failures at home and abroad, but important, if measured, steps were taken to overhaul and rejuvenate the gerontocratic party machine. Brezhnev holdovers who hoped to retain cherished sinecures at the middle and lower levels of the bureaucracy found their jobs going to younger men. At least 34 of an estimated 150 provincial party posts changed hands during Andropov's 15 months in power. It was the largest turnover of party officials around the country in two decades.

Even if Andropov was too physically frail to attend last December's party plenum, he appeared to come out of the meeting politically stronger. The balance of power in the Politburo seemed to tilt in his favor by the appointment of two new men whose careers had been stalled under Brezhnev. Politburo Newcomer Vitali Vorotnikov, 58, joined a number of younger leaders who appeared to owe their growing prominence to the ailing leader. They included former Azerbaijan Party Chief Geidar Aliyev, 60, who was the first Andropov appointee to the party's inner circle, and two technocrats, Nikolai Ryzhkov, 54, and Yegor Ligachev, 64, who were assigned to key posts in the Central Committee.

Whether these changes can be counted as personal triumphs for Andropov is another question. The push to pump younger blood into the aging body politic during Andropov's time in power would certainly have promoted the interests of his supporters throughout the security services and the military. Indeed, Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov was believed to have been instrumental in helping Andropov secure the top party post. But if the late Soviet leader made some moves to shake up the party, he did nothing to challenge a defense establishment grown so large under Brezhnev that no one man could control it.

The final months of ill health provided the denouement in a career marked by consummate political skill and shrewd calculation. The son of a railway worker, Andropov was born on June 15, 1914, at Nagutskaya Station in the northern Caucasus. He studied at a school for water transportation and worked briefly as a telegraph operator and a Volga boatman, but soon demonstrated his talent for political work. He became active as an organizer in the Communist Youth League (Komsomol). After the Stalinist purge cleared vacancies in the organization's hi-

SOVFOTO SOVFOTO

**With Cuban Leader Fidel Castro, left, and with U.S. Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz in November 1982**

erarchy, Andropov was catapulted in 1940 into the post of First Secretary in the newly formed Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic.

Andropov played an important role in consolidating Moscow's power in this northwestern region, which had been partly under the control of Finland before the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939-40. When the Nazis invaded, Andropov apparently served as a political commissar with the Soviet partisans; he may have been involved in the Allied shipments of matériel through the port of Murmansk. Andropov remained in Karelia after the war as a deputy to the regional party leader, veteran Finnish Communist Otto Kuusinen, who is thought to have been influential in securing for the ambitious Andropov a post in the party's Central Committee in Moscow.

With Nikita Khrushchev in Hungary in 1964

The party bureaucrat proved to be an able diplomat and steadily rose in the ranks. In 1953 Andropov was assigned to the Soviet embassy in Budapest. The next year he became ambassador. Hungarians acquainted with Andropov during that turbulent period described him as a cultivated man who could give formal dinner parties and still enjoy a raucous evening with the Budapest police gypsy band. During the 1956 uprising, Andropov visited Hungarian Premier Imre Nagy, apparently to assure him that Moscow had no aggressive intention against Hungary. Yet at that very moment Soviet tanks were rolling toward Budapest. Andropov's association with János Kádár, the Hungarian Communist leader who introduced economic reforms, helped give rise to the rumors that Andropov was interested in adopting some of the liberal ideas that have given Hungary the most innovative economy in the Soviet bloc. He never did so.

After the Soviets crushed the Hungarian uprising, Andropov was named to an important post in the Central Committee's foreign affairs section. As a liaison with other Soviet-bloc Communist Party organizations, Andropov traveled to Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia, Albania and North Viet Nam. But neither then nor later in his career did he even set foot in a country that was not under Communist control. Andropov was elected to the Central Committee in 1961; three years later, Party First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev chose him to deliver the keynote address on the anniversary of Lenin's birthday, a singular honor that marked Andropov as a public figure to be watched.

In 1967, when Brezhnev wanted to strengthen party control of the KGB, Andropov was the consensus choice to lead the organization. He became a candidate member of the Politburo at the same time and a full voting member in 1973. During his 15 years at the head of the Soviet security and intelligence empire, Andropov transformed a demoralized organization into a thoroughly professional force capable not only of keeping order at home but of advancing Soviet interests abroad with growing sophistication. In contrast to predecessors who used mass terror to suppress dissent, Andropov employed a broad range of punishments selectively tailored for each nonconformist and effectively crushed the dissident movement, which he once dismissed as a "skillful propaganda invention."

Andropov altered the stereotype of the ham-fisted Soviet spy in the ill-fitting suit by encouraging KGB recruiters to go after the best that the Soviet academic world had to offer. KGB foreign agents grew more adept at pilfering high technology and stepped up efforts to spread Moscow's influence around the globe through propaganda and disinformation. But Turkish Gunman Mehmet Ali Agca's bungled attempt to kill Pope John Paul II in May 1981 tarnished the KGB's new image. Suspicions of a KGB link in the papal plot through Bulgarian surrogates gave rise to speculation that the Soviet agency still relied heavily on such dark arts as political assassination and clouded Andropov's time in power.

With Predecessor Leonid Brezhnev in 1966

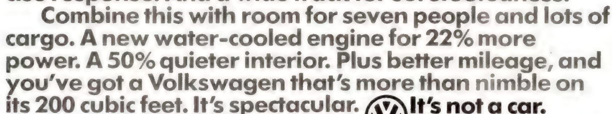
As Brezhnev's health began to falter, Andropov's influence with the Kremlin's inner circle grew. In May 1982, Andropov was relieved of his position as head of the KGB and promoted to the spot on the party's powerful Central Committee Secretariat that had been left vacant by the death of Ideologist Mikhail Suslov. It was seen as a move to "launder" Andropov for the top party post. When Brezhnev died six months later, Andropov had lined up enough support to beat back the challenge of Konstantin Chernenko, who was widely believed to be Brezhnev's personal choice for the post of party General Secretary.

Not only had Andropov gained influence during his years at KGB headquarters in Dzerzhinsky Square, but he appeared to be relatively untainted by the job. Some foreign observers even considered him to be a closet reformer. Word was spread around Moscow and Western capitals that he was really a secret liberal who read trashy American novels and listened to Chubby Checker albums. A rare Andropov interview published in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* brought the rumor mill grinding to a halt. Andropov acknowledged that he had traditional tastes. He said that he did not play tennis but did enjoy Beethoven's *"Pathétique" Sonata*. But even these sparse revelations about his personal life were not shared with the Soviet people.

Little was known about Andropov's family. It had been widely assumed that he was a widower, until his wife, Tatyana, appeared by his flower-decked coffin in Moscow's House of Trade Unions. His daughter Irina, married to an actor from Moscow's Taganka Theater, remained discreetly out of the public eye. Andropov's son Igor was a ranking member of the Soviet delegation to the Stockholm disarmament conference but also avoided the spotlight.

For all his ambition to rule, Andropov cherished anonymity. More technocrat than autocrat by instinct, he shunned the accolades and personality cult that had tickled the vanity of his predecessor. But if Andropov assessed the politically possible with computer-like precision, he remained a man of his generation. Other Soviet leaders have left their distinctive mark on Soviet history, but future chroniclers will have difficulty in discerning an Andropov "era," and not only because of its brevity. Though the late Soviet leader may have aspired to be more than a transitional leader, he was ultimately unable—or unwilling—to do more than tinker with the system that he inherited. —*By John Kohan. Reported by Erik Amfitheatrof/Moscow*

# It's nimble on its 200 cubic feet.



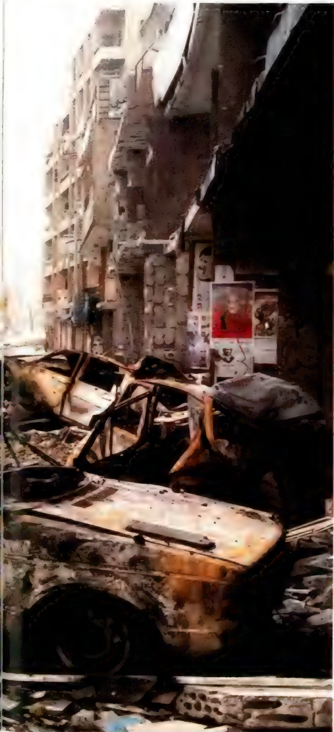
© 1984 VOLKSWAGEN OF AMERICA

# No Escape from

*Brutal fighting and a Muslim takeover in West Beirut*

# a Stricken Land

*produce an American withdrawal—of sorts*



Some easy questions to begin with. Last Tuesday (which after last Friday feels like a month ago), President Reagan announced that the U.S. was simultaneously going to open fire on Syrian positions and withdraw the Marines, in slow stages, to ships offshore. Was this a retreat that looked like an escalation or an escalation that looked like a retreat? Perhaps it was merely the "redeployment" the President called it, a way of offering help to the Gemayel government from a more secure military position. Never mind that there *was* no Gemayel government, that West Beirut, swirling in its own fires as usual, now belonged to the Amal and Druze militiamen. Were we in or out? If in, how deeply? And was it not dangerous to pull back gradually, over a month or months, while taking massive potshots at the enemy? If out, it meant that the U.S. policy in Lebanon had failed, which should thus have constituted a political defeat for Reagan. Except that the Democrats, evidently not grasping the meaning of "redeployment" either, hailed the Administration for finally moving the Marines. Does anybody know what's going on? Enough for starters.

Odd that these first questions asked by most Americans last week concerned themselves. It was Lebanon, after all, that seemed to be in trouble. Lebanon again: the world's nervous breakdown on public display one more time, the now familiar blanched apartment houses of Beirut crowned with rocket smoke, the collapsing balconies, the stained, scorched skeletons of cars. Every street seems to be either a wilderness or occupied by wild-looking young men crouching and running. One wonders if anyone will ever again walk casually in Beirut. And the inevitable ambulance sirens, the anguished women pleading with the television cameras, small children, arms limp, supine on stretchers. Still, Americans looked homeward, and not solely because of fear for the Marines. Now the questions grew more difficult. First: What were we doing there? Then: What are we ever doing there, "there" being the Lebanons of the world, which for decades have both characterized and exasperated American foreign policy?

As helpless as Americans began to feel about Lebanon, they have felt just as helpless about their nation's position in the world, and for a good deal longer. Superpower? Where? What does it mean to be a superpower in a world whose burning center is not Washington or Moscow but friable Beirut? Where is the leverage a superiority of arms is supposed to bring; or is arms superiority the wrong tool for leverage? If the U.S. is willing to use force in messy places, how much, and for how long? No great shakes at covert operations, it has fared no better in the open. True, after the U.S. "loses" Lebanon to the Muslims, and indirectly to the Syrians, and even more indirectly to the Soviets, not much may be lost in practical terms. Even the loss of prestige or face may be recoverable. Those are not the disasters. The real loss lies in what America has yet to find: a way to use power discriminately and effectively.

For the folks at home, it was an interesting week for the old problem to arise, as they sat back among the confusions, watching Lebanon with one eye and with the other a U.S. astronaut floating gloriously in the blackest space, at once free and alone. Is that what the country wants to be in the end, free and alone? Too late for isolation. Yet what does the nation mean when it sails into cauldrons like Lebanon—let's fight to the death until someone gets hurt? Oh, if every beach were Grenada's. After the easy questions, the hard ones, and then a silence, as the nation sways, like its Marines, between the devil and the sea. —***By Roger Rosenblatt***

Photograph for TIME by Harry Mattison

Druze and Shi'ite militiamen proudly display a Druze flag last week at a position taken from soldiers of the Lebanese Army

# All Hell Breaking Loose

*As the Gemayel government crumbles, the U.S. both fires and falls back*

Even for a city that has learned to live with fear and blood as easily as other places cope with traffic jams and smog, the battle was terrifying. There was no warning as the gangs of Muslim militiamen, many dressed in civvies and cloth masks, swept into West Beirut to fight the Lebanese Army soldiers. The dreaded chatter of automatic rifles cleared the streets, trapping thousands in homes and offices. Those who dared peek from behind curtains or doorways saw flashes of chaos: a gunman scrambling madly, a car ablaze, someone shouting something to somebody out of sight.

As darkness fell, the combat grew into the most savage street fighting West Beirut has seen since Lebanon slipped into civil war nine years ago. Afraid of what the night would bring, many sought refuge in basements, stairwells, wherever they stood the best chance of surviving a direct hit by grenade or mortar. Every minute seemed to bring the sounds of rockets screeching overhead and slamming into buildings. Even the usual wails of crisis could not be heard: the streets had grown so dangerous that ambulances and fire trucks did not risk making runs.

When the shooting stopped, West Beirut was under the full control of Muslim militiamen for the first time in more than a year. As people scurried to stock up on bread and bottled water in case the fighting flared up again, they could see how much damage had been done. Gaping holes riddled the upper floors of apartment buildings, snapped trees littered the streets, and burned-out cars still smoldered on nearly every block. Shattered glass and chunks of masonry lay everywhere. At the American University Hospital, doctors raced to make room for the rush of wounded, while the morgues quickly filled up. An estimated 300 people died, and 1,000 were injured in the latest round of terror.

At stake in the fighting was the survival of the government of Amin Gemayel, 42, the boyish Maronite Christian who has been President since September 1982. As Gemayel's hold on power crumbled last week, the Reagan Administration hastily changed the rules of its support for him. In a dramatic reversal, a White House spokesman announced that Ronald Reagan was ordering the phased "redeployment" of the 1,600 Marines stationed at Beirut airport to ships offshore. At the same time, the President authorized increased naval and air strikes against Syrian-controlled factions that were firing into Beirut, thereby breaking with the practice of retaliating only when U.S. forces were directly imperiled. Despite Washington's avowals that it was not "cutting and running," as many critics charged, the initial reaction at home and abroad was that Reagan was responding to his domestic critics who had been demanding that he get the U.S. out of Lebanon.

But then the horrible sounds of war rang again, this time not from around the corner but from the sea. For nine consecutive hours one day last week, the 16-in. guns of the U.S. battleship *New Jersey*

**Fire pours from the 16-in. guns of battleship *New Jersey* as it pounds antigovernment positions in the mountains east of Beirut**

boomed out, sending nearly 300 one-ton shells crashing into the hills behind Beirut. With each blast, the ground shook and windows rattled throughout the city. The bombardment, which ranged from near Shuweifat, just south of Beirut, to Chtaura, some 30 miles east of the capital, was directed at artillery and missile batteries in Syrian-controlled areas, which U.S. officials contended had been attacking Christian-dominated East Beirut for the past week. The U.S., it suddenly seemed, was not pulling out but deepening its military involvement. Not only did the new policy appear contradictory, but American officials further muddied matters by disagreeing publicly over what the presidential directives meant. At issue was not only the fate of Lebanon but the credibility of the U.S. in the region.

Confusing signals emanated from both Washington and California, where the President was on a five-day vacation. Though Reagan set no timetable for the Marine withdrawal, White House aides said initially that the first 500 would be removed by the end of February. Testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger said the plan was only tentative, then added that the Administration "would see what situation developed with regard to the balance." To the consternation of his listeners, Weinberger insisted, "We are not leaving Lebanon."

In Santa Barbara, White House Spokesman Larry Speakes contended that the attacks against Syrian-held positions were designed not to shore up the Gemayel government, as Reagan had first implied, but to protect the Marines. Yet the barrage from the *New Jersey* last week came after the shelling of East Beirut; the Marines, whose base is three miles south of the city, had not come under attack. The flip-flop was meant to silence complaints on Capitol Hill that the bombardment violated the terms of the October congressional resolution, which authorized the deployment of the Marines in Lebanon until April 1985. House Speaker Tip O'Neill, who has become an outspoken critic of the Administration's policy in Lebanon, remained unmollified. Said the Massachusetts Democrat, who initially endorsed the Marine deployment: "[Reagan] is going much further than I ever expected him to go."

At week's end the Administration was doing a better job of explaining its policies. Stressing that the timing of the Marine withdrawal remained flexible, a senior White House official said he was "optimistic" that it would be completed within a month. An estimated 200 Marines would stay behind, primarily to guard the U.S. embassy. In addition, a contingent of American military trainers and technical advisers, perhaps as many as 100 or more, would be stationed ashore to help instruct the Lebanese Army. The White House official explained that the *New Jersey* barrage against Syrian-controlled positions was a direct response to heavy shelling of the U.S. ambassador's residence in the hills above Beirut. At one point, about 20 rounds rained down on the compound; though the main building suffered a direct hit, no one was hurt. Said the official: "The Syrians could have avoided all this, but they willfully inspired the artillery fire."

Before dawn on the morning after the President's announcement, Britain moved its 115-man contingent to the port of Jounieh, north of Beirut; the troops were ferried by helicopter to a British ship off the Lebanese coast. The Italians announced that they would gradually withdraw their 1,200 soldiers in the Multi-National Force, but France said it would leave its 1,250 men in Beirut for the time being. Paris concentrated its efforts on getting a United Nations peace-keeping force to replace the four-nation Multi-National Force. Said President François Mitterrand: "The French contingent is not in Lebanon to remain indefinitely."

The big winner last week was Syria, which has vigorously supported anti-Gemayel forces and demanded the removal of U.S. troops. Besides continuing to maintain 62,000 troops in northern and eastern

# Lebanon

AZAR—GAMMA LIAISON

Amid burning cars, civilians flee the fighting in West Beirut

HARRY MATTISON

A Khomeini portrait adorns an Amal bunker

PETER CHARLESWORTH

A Shi'ite woman cradles an AK-47 rifle

MATTISON

After abandoning their positions, Lebanese soldiers prepare to join antigovernment forces

Lebanon. Syria will probably get the Gemayel government—if it survives—to renounce Lebanon's May 17, 1982, accord with Israel. The agreement granted Jerusalem certain political and trade privileges, as well as security arrangements for southern Lebanon in exchange for a promise that Israeli troops would withdraw when the Syrians did. To the extent that Moscow backs Syrian President Hafez Assad and welcomes any setback to the U.S. and its allies, the Soviet Union also benefited. As a sign that it is eager to increase its role in the Middle East, the Kremlin announced, shortly before President Yuri Andropov's death last week, that Geidar Aliyev, a Politburo member from Azerbaijan, a predominantly Muslim republic in the Soviet Union, would go to Damascus this week for a "brief working visit." The trip was quietly postponed when it became apparent that Andropov's condition was critical.

To the Israelis, last week's developments foreshadowed the loss of the few remaining gains won in the costly 1982 invasion. The stillborn May 17 accord once held the promise of being Israel's second peace treaty with a neighbor, after the 1979 pact with Egypt. Moreover, if Gemayel resigns, Jerusalem will face the prospect of a far less friendly government on its northern border. Israel has been hoping to withdraw its 22,000 troops from southern Lebanon, where they are the frequent targets of sniper and terrorist attacks. The chaos in Beirut makes a pullback riskier now.

Gemayel spent the week bunkered down in the presidential palace in Baabda, overlooking his anguished city. Once derisively dubbed "the mayor of Beirut," the beleaguered President could not even claim that distinction after the takeover of West Beirut and the disintegration of the Lebanese Army. With shells crashing into the nearby hillside and occasionally hitting his palace, Gemayel desperately tried to cobble together a new government following the resignation of Prime Minister Chafik al Wazzan and his nine-member Cabinet.

Gemayel's latest troubles began two weeks ago, when fierce fighting broke out between the Lebanese Army and militiamen in the predominantly Shi'ite suburbs south of the capital. Rumors had circulated that the army was preparing to move into the area to crush the forces of the Shi'ite organization Amal (*see box*). According to U.S. officials, Army Commander Ibrahim Tannous also wanted to cut off an eleven-mile-long corridor that was being used to ferry weapons from Druze outposts in the Chouf Mountains to the Shi'ite militiamen. Tannous' offensive quickly stalled, however, and Amal forces seized three army outposts. Government troops retaliated by shelling the densely populated southern suburbs.

The assault infuriated Amal Leader Nabih Berri, who is known as one of Lebanon's more pragmatic opposition figures.

No. 4 in a Series

# THE CADILLAC LEGACY OF QUALITY
and what it can mean to you.

# It's craftsmanship all along the line.

## Meet one of our "Cadillac Business Teams."

They're not just workers. They're team members at our Livonia, Michigan engine plant. Each team member takes special pride in his or her special job and has the opportunity to learn other jobs outside the team. This way, team members can discover and share new approaches to efficiency and quality improvements.

## 376 brand-new Cadillacs we'll never sell.

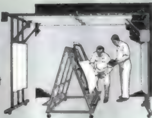
They're Cadillacs we choose at random for special future development projects, testing and inspections. In many cases, they are completely disassembled after testing and examined in the smallest detail. To help ensure that tomorrow's Cadillacs will be just as worthy of the Legacy of Quality as are today's Cadillacs.

## Quality pays off for you. And for us.

Cadillac quality takes many forms, but perhaps none is more important than Cadillac's renowned attention to detail. Making sure that things unseen have not been left unattended. Things such as engine and suspension components. Plus determining how one component can affect the quality of another—and the entire car.

Cadillac quality pays off for our employes, too, with extra cash for any outstanding quality improvement idea that's put into operation. Payoffs like this contribute to the kind of quality you can expect in any new Cadillac—from Cimarron to Seville.

## The "Green Room." If it can't pass, it isn't Cadillac.



Cadillac is world renowned for the form and finish of its body panels. To maintain this high standard, we inspect sample panels daily in our "Green Room." Here, special high-intensity lighting reveals a panel's surface quality. Flaws, if any, are noted and corrected.

## We take our work home.

Every night, a number of brand-new Cadillacs, produced that same day, are driven home and evaluated overnight by Cadillac employes—our toughest critics. And that is good news for all of us. Because they pride themselves in their craftsmanship. And what they find—good or bad—helps us keep the name Cadillac synonymous with the word quality.

**A special book that explores many interesting facets of Cadillac quality is yours for the asking.**

Cadillac Quality
P.O. Drawer 30091
Dept. T-0220
Lansing, MI 48909

Name____________________

Address____________________

City____________________

State____________ Zip________

Quality is one of the reasons we say... BEST OF ALL...IT'S A CADILLAC. GM

Let's Get It Together... Buckle Up.

Using a personal computer in your work can be an exhilarating experience. But losing all of your hard work because of a faulty flexible disk is something you don't want to experience. Good reason to always use Verbatim, the world's best-selling flexible disks. In fact, one out of every four disks sold is made by Verbatim. No wonder. Each is certified 100% error-free and backed by a warranty to assure dependability: Verex,™ 1 year; Datalife,® 5 years; Optima Series,® 17 years.

For your nearest Verbatim dealer, call toll-free 800-538-1793. In California or outside the U.S., call collect (408) 737-7771.

Because with Verbatim, you never run the risk of having your greatest successes forgotten.

Verbatim®

Nothing's better than a Verbatim response.

# The thrill of victory, the agony of delete.

©1983 Verbatim Corp.

For the first time, he joined Druze Chieftain Walid Jumblatt in calling for Gemayel's resignation. More important, he urged three Muslim members of the Cabinet to quit, prompting Wazzan, a Sunni Muslim, to quit as well. Gemayel tried frantically but failed to find a respected Muslim politician to replace Wazzan (according to Lebanese political tradition, the Prime Minister is always a Sunni while the President is a Maronite Christian). Gemayel then appeared on TV, offering an eight-point plan to appease his critics. His proposals included resuming national reconciliation talks in Geneva on Feb. 27 and giving Muslims more seats in parliament, but he also made it clear that any issue could be discussed. "Everything is negotiable," he solemnly declared.

The offer proved to be too little, too late. Around noon the next day, Lebanese Army troops and Amal militiamen clashed along the city's "green line," which divides Christian East Beirut from the mainly Muslim western sector. According to Amal leaders, the battle began when they discovered that the army was beefing up its forces in West Beirut with a brigade dominated by the members of the Christian Phalange, a right-wing militia that the Shi'ites regard as their bitter enemy. Yet Amal's rapid response suggested that the attack had been well planned.

The fighting escalated into a vicious struggle for all of West Beirut. Amal forces were joined by Druze fighters and members of the Murabitun, a left-wing militia that was thought to have disbanded after the Israeli withdrawal from West Beirut. At 1:30 p.m. on Monday, the army declared a curfew and warned that anyone found on the streets would be "shot without warning."

Shops closed quickly, but the surge of motorists heading home snarled traffic. Pedestrians, some clutching children, ran or walked briskly along the streets, hurried on by the distant sounds of gunfire. "They are going to start again," complained a grocer as he pulled down the steel shutters in front of his store. "This was coming for some time."

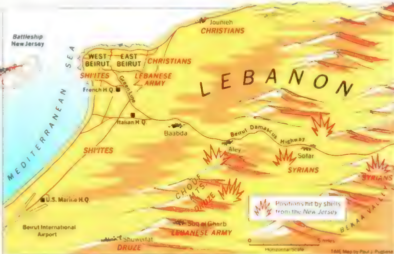
It soon became apparent, however, that the battle was as much for the hearts and minds of the army as for territory. Heeding a call from Berri, Shi'ite members of the Lebanese Army deserted in droves. Many of them joined the Amal militia, surrendering equipment like armored personnel carriers. A few army outposts fell without a shot being fired, while others were taken only after ferocious battles. In many places, local ceasefires were arranged; army soldiers were allowed to keep their weapons if they promised not to use them.

The army's performance under pressure was a major disappointment for Gemayel and the U.S. Torn apart by the 1975-76 civil war, the Lebanese Army was virtually nonexistent until 1982. After the Israeli invasion, the U.S. helped Gemayel rebuild a well-integrated force of 32,000, of whom about 60% were Muslim and 40% Christian. Though many Muslim soldiers resented the fact that most of their officers were Christian, the army performed surprisingly well when faced with its first tests. The soldiers cleared the Muslim militias out of West Beirut in late 1982 and succeeded, with the help of U.S. naval fire, in quelling the battle between Druze and Christians in the Chouf Mountains last September.

With that victory, however, the army began to crack along sectarian lines. At the urging of Druze Leader Jumblatt, some 800 Druze soldiers deserted. With the defection of thousands of Shi'ites last week, the army was on the verge of collapse. If Gemayel orders his commanders to retake West Beirut, fighting could easily break out among army regulars.

Yet Berri and Jumblatt, ironically, could still save the army as an institution. Although they called upon Muslim soldiers not to fight last week, both leaders want to preserve the units that support them. If and when a political settlement is reached that gives them a greater share of power, Berri and Jumblatt do not want to face the task of rebuilding an army from scratch.

Nor do the Muslim leaders wish to inherit a city more divided than it already is. On Wednesday, after an uneven peace settled over West Beirut, a joint security committee representing Amal, the Druze and the Murabitun issued a set of guidelines. Besides turning West Beirut over to internal police forces, the group outlawed kidnaping, the seizing of homes and the carrying of arms in the area. Muslim mili-



A Muslim militiaman pauses for prayer

Lebanese civilians bury one of their dead

# The Amal Arises

Last week when Muslim guerrillas of the Shi'ite Amal militia led the attack on Lebanese Army units controlling West Beirut, it signaled the emergence of yet another faction from the wings onto center stage. With that stunning victory, the once obscure Amal, under Leader Nabih Berri, was suddenly poised to play a decisive role in Lebanon's future.

The Amal's newly won prominence is long overdue. In 1932 the last official census established the Christians as Lebanon's largest group and justified an agreement guaranteeing them a dominant role in the government. By most estimates, however, the Shi'ites now outnumber all other factions, constituting roughly 40% of Lebanon's population of 3.5 million to 4 million. Until recently the Shi'ites have remained a silent underclass. Made up of impoverished farmers from the south and also of Beirut's urban poor, the Shi'ites long adhered to conservative Islamic teachings that called for political obedience to the ruling government, regardless of its injustices.

That began to change in the 1975 civil war. As other power-hungry factions oiled their guns, the Lebanese Shi'ite leader Imam Moussa Sadr formed the Amal (meaning hope in Arabic), originally intending it to be a political organization exerting pressure to better the lot of Shi'ites living in poverty in Beirut's southern suburbs. But in a country constantly at war, it quickly became clear that social and political change would be achieved only through military force. The Amal developed a military wing, fortifying the Shi'ite neighborhoods with sandbags and training youths in street fighting and in the use of Kalashnikovs.

Initially weak, the Amal at first kept a low profile. When P.L.O. forces in West Beirut came under attack from the Israelis in the summer of 1982, however, the Amal supported the Palestinians. That loyalty was rewarded when the P.L.O. finally evacuated the city and the Amal obtained substantial quantities of P.L.O. arms. Thus strengthened, the Amal set up what was effectively a Shi'ite state within a state in the southern suburbs.

Despite its increasing military muscle, the Amal has steered a relatively moderate course, rejecting the fanatical Islam associated with the Shi'ites of Iran's Ayatullah Khomeini. When Moussa Sadr mysteriously disappeared after a falling-out with Muammar Gaddafi during a visit to Libya in 1978, he was soon succeeded by the forceful Berri, a lawyer by training, who quickly won a reputation for keeping his own counsel. Like other Muslim leaders, Berri has fiercely opposed the Christian Phalangists. But although the Amal gets much of its financial and military support from the Syrians, Berri has refused to align himself completely with Damascus, arguing that the Amal's interests are best served by remaining independent.

PETER CHARLESWORTH

**Berri at press conference last week**

That moderation, however, is increasingly endangered by a wave of religious fundamentalism washing through the Shi'ite community. In June of 1982, an aide to Berri, Hussein Musawi, broke away to form a radical splinter group, the Islamic Amal. Musawi has since forged close links with Islamic Jihad, the Muslim extremist group that claimed responsibility for the attacks on the U.S. and French compounds last October, and the murder of Beirut's American University President Malcolm Kerr last month. Within the mainstream Amal, young Shi'ites have attacked occupying Israeli troops in southern Lebanon with the encouragement of pro-Khomeini Shi'ite clerics, despite pleas from the Amal's leaders for passive resistance. During last week's fighting, zealous young Amal militiamen launched puritanical bottle-smashing attacks on bars in Beirut. Admits Ghassam Seblani, one of Berri's top aides: "There are people who will act independently in a situation like this. We will impose our own discipline on our members. They must behave properly."

Schismatic problems within the Amal may be compounded by growing tensions between Berri and his Druze allies, led by Walid Jumblatt. After joining forces to rout the Lebanese troops from West Beirut, the two factions may soon find themselves jousting for supremacy in a new political order. Now that the Amal has joined the ranks of the principal players in Lebanon, it is discovering the frustrations that come with power.

tiamen were ordered to return vehicles commandeered during battle and to report to the green line, where sporadic duels with the Phalange and army units still loyal to Gemayel persisted through the week. By Saturday, the police were gradually taking control of West Beirut, though many militia checkpoints remained in place.

During some of the worst moments of fighting, U.S. Special Envoy Donald Rumsfeld huddled with Gemayel to review the shaky Lebanese government's options. Rumsfeld was on the phone talking to the White House from the U.S. ambassador's residence in Baabda when the compound was shelled, so he was in an ideal position to give Washington a vivid description of how bad things were. On Friday, the U.S. embassy offered to evacuate any of the estimated 1,500 American civilians in Beirut who wished to leave. Broadcast over the Voice of America, the news sent hundreds of Americans, suitcases in hand, to the seafront British embassy and waiting helicopters. Over the course of two days, some 1,100 people were airlifted to ships of the Sixth Fleet, bound for Cyprus. About half were American citizens, the others were Europeans and Asians. The British evacuated 400 civilians, and the Italians prepared to remove others. Margaret Cummings, originally from Queens, N.Y., has spent the past 22 years in Lebanon. "I stayed through the civil war, and it was nothing like what happened last week," she said as she sat on her suitcase outside the embassy, waiting for her passport to be checked. "I thought I was going to die."

At week's end the chances for Gemayel's survival improved slightly. After meeting in Damascus for two days, the leaders of the National Salvation Front, including Jumblatt, former President Suleiman Franjieh and former Prime Minister Rashid Karami, listed their demands. The trio asked for a hand in rebuilding the Lebanese Army and rescinding legislative decrees that they contended favor the Christians; as expected, the group also insisted on scrapping the May 17 Israeli-Lebanese accord. Significantly, the front did not call for Gemayel's resignation. His aides greeted the declaration with guarded optimism. According to a Gemayel adviser, the Lebanese President's reaction was, "O.K., all the points are negotiable. Let's see if we can't start talking about them."

Despite that promising overture, Gemayel's position had been measurably weakened by the U.S. decision. For months Reagan had insisted that the Marines must remain in Lebanon as symbols of U.S. support for the embattled Lebanese President. "As long as there is a chance for peace, the mission remains the same," Reagan had said only two weeks ago. "If we get out, that means the end of Lebanon." Despite efforts by Administration officials to paint the policy shift as purely a tactical maneuver, the withdrawal was widely interpreted not just as an admission of failure by the U.S. but as a

loss of faith in Gemayel's capacity to hold his government together.

The reassessment of the Marines' role began immediately after the Oct. 23 suicide bombing, which killed 241 servicemen. Weinberger, along with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, urged that the Marines be transferred offshore. Secretary of State George Shultz was adamant that they be kept at the airport. National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane sided with Shultz but he also asked the Pentagon to come up with redeployment options within Lebanon. The Defense Department, however, kept pressuring for a withdrawal to the sea.

Further events conspired against the Shultz position. Congress clamored more loudly for a pullout, while opinion polls showed that a majority of Americans opposed the Administration's Lebanon policies. By mid-January it also became clear that a security plan designed to separate the warring factions and extend the Lebanese Army's control around Beirut would not be carried out. When Rumsfeld returned from his latest tour of the region with an especially gloomy report, Shultz decided that something had to be done.

The question, of course, was what. McFarlane already had ordered his staff to devise a plan that would get the Marines out of the line of fire but still give Gemayel support. On the weekend of Jan. 21-22, Shultz invited McFarlane and Rumsfeld to his suburban Maryland home to ponder U.S. options. Shultz decided to accept Weinberger's withdrawal plan, but only if the Pentagon agreed to expand the rules of engagement and allow naval and air strikes against Syrian positions. An increase in military muscle, in effect, was Shultz's price for redeployment to the ships. "What we are saying with the *New Jersey* is that we are taking our guys out of the bull's-eye, but don't mistake that for an abandonment of U.S. objectives," explained a senior diplomat. "We are letting Syria know that they do not have carte blanche."

Afraid that the U.S. might become even more deeply mired in Lebanon, Weinberger opposed the new rules, but he reluctantly went along. On Jan. 26, Reagan approved the basic outline. Shultz, now flush with the fervor of a convert, decided that Weinberger was dragging his heels on working up the details. The Secretary of State asked McFarlane to have the Joint Chiefs of Staff complete the plans on their own. The new draft, which became a National Security Decision Directive, was approved by Reagan "in principle" on Feb. 1. Besides describing the Marine pullback and the new combat policy, the proposal detailed measures for beefing up the Lebanese Army, including more training, intelligence gathering and equipment. The precise schedule for carrying out the plan was left open, pending consultation with Gemayel and the other MNF nations.

Three days later, however, the Lebanese Cabinet resigned, precipitating Ge-

# Dodging the Bullets in Beirut

*Like everyone else in West Beirut last week, TIME staffers were engulfed by battle. As violence spread through the city, Middle East Bureau Chief William Stewart, Correspondent John Borrell and Reporter Abu Said Abu Rish found themselves caught in the crossfire. Their experiences:*

As soon as fighting broke out in the streets of West Beirut, the Lebanese government ordered the army to shoot on sight. Steel shutters rang down on storefronts. Pedestrians scattered. Car horns blared incessantly. We were interviewing a former government minister when the fighting broke out, and emerged from his office to find shots ringing out amid the cafés and boutiques of Hamra Street, one of West Beirut's busiest thoroughfares. We stopped briefly to buy provisions, then hurried to our apartment building. Not a minute too soon. The half a dozen men of the Lebanese Army contingent billeted in our lobby to protect diplomatic residents were already nervously fingering their M-16s. Upstairs, we hastily improvised a late lunch. Suddenly an explosion shook the building. We hit the ground and started edging toward the safest place in the apartment: a 6-ft.-long bathroom, away from any windows. As we huddled there, the clatter of M-16s and Kalashnikovs echoed off the walls of neighboring buildings. Now and then we would crawl on all fours to a window. Below us, the faint shadows of militiamen moved in the gathering darkness. Perhaps a mile out to sea, a U.S. Navy ship cruised past, a gray wolf on a gray sea beneath a hazy gray sky.

UPI

**Italian civilians, luggage in hand, prepare to leave the Lebanese capital by ship**

About two hours later we decided to seize the opportunity to move to the relative safety of TIME's office, located beneath the street level in an adjacent building. As we made our way down the stairs in the darkness, we found that the army billet in our lobby had suffered a direct hit. The ceiling had collapsed. The doors of our mailboxes had been ripped off their hinges. Not a window on the ground floor remained intact. We hastened to the TIME office 50 yds. away. As the night wore on, the fighting flared up again. Sleep was shattered; shells rocked the building. The tinkling of broken glass could be heard in the street above. Rockets roared overhead. Waiting for the next blast was almost as unnerving as the explosions.

By mid-afternoon on Tuesday the fighting had subsided, and on Wednesday morning we drove across town. A carpet hung limply from a gaping hole in a high-rise. The thick steel cable of an elevator shaft dangled crazily out of a police station. No armed men were in evidence, sandbagged army checkpoints had been abandoned, and traffic flowed freely for the first time in weeks. But clearly the conflict was far from over. Militiamen had thrown up barricades around the district of Maasra, while fighting still raged along the green line that separates Christian East Beirut from the predominantly Muslim western half of the city.

That night we moved to a Druze-run hotel at some distance from the area of the most concentrated fighting. But we could not escape the sound of warfare. As we reached the seaside hotel, the U.S.S. *New Jersey* opened up on artillery positions in the hills behind the city. Huge flashes of fire were followed by clouds of orange smoke. With each blast, the light fittings trembled, the windows rattled, and our hearts, for a second, stopped beating.

PETER CHARLESWORTH

**U.S. Marines, guns at the ready, poised behind sandbags near the American embassy in Beirut**

CHARLESWORTH

**U.S. embassy staff members board a Marine helicopter for evacuation to vessels offshore**

*The streets were so dangerous that ambulances and fire trucks did not risk making runs.*

mayel's worst week in office. For Reagan the timing could not have been worse. At an emergency National Security Council meeting on Sunday afternoon, the President decided to go ahead with the pullback. The Administration had planned to consult with Gemayel and its MNF allies about its plan, then have the Lebanese President publicly request the withdrawal of the peace-keeping forces. Instead, Gemayel was told of the decision on Monday, while Washington dispatched notes to London, Paris and Rome officially informing them of the unilateral move. When word leaked out, the public statement, originally scheduled for Thursday, was moved up to Tuesday, which only contributed to the impression of haste. Arriving in California after giving a speech in Las Vegas, Reagan sat aboard Air Force One for 20 minutes editing the announcement, which his aides had barely finished writing.

The policy shift produced more questions than answers. If the Marines were in danger, why not a faster withdrawal? Washington continued to argue that time was needed to prepare the Lebanese Army to take responsibility for security at Beirut's airport. Last week's performance by government troops, however, did not inspire confidence in their ability to do the job. Some Pentagon officials pointed out that millions of dollars' worth of equipment must be airlifted, while others contended that the delay was primarily a political decision. Said a Defense Department staffer: "The White House doesn't want to appear to be retreating."

Once on the ships, the Marines would still be vulnerable to kamikaze air attacks. Indeed, some critics contend that after last October's truck bombing, the Marines became so security conscious that they might actually be safer at the airport than at sea. Admiral James D. Watkins, Chief of Naval Operations, stressed last week that the 20-ship flotilla now off the Lebanese coast, which includes two aircraft carriers, had instructions to fire warning shots at suspicious aircraft or vessels. Some of the ships have been supplied with Stinger shoulder-fired antiaircraft missiles, while the U.S.S. *Ticonderoga* boasts an Aegis antimissile system capable of tracking 18 separate incoming targets at one time.

The naval and air strikes carry even greater risks. The attacks invite retaliation against the Marines remaining at the airport during the staged withdrawal. The bombardments might make it more difficult for Gemayel to strike a deal with his Syrian-backed opponents, while stray shells that destroy towns and kill civilians will only further alienate the Lebanese. Finally, the infuriated Syrians might respond with their own barrage, thereby sparking a wider conflict.

Administration officials argued that the shelling has protected Marine lives by signaling to the Syrians that they would not be safe from U.S. reprisals. As punishment for the attacks against the U.S. ambassador's residence, the bombardment focused on the batteries near the towns of Fulugha and Mamana, above Baabda. According to a White House official, the naval cannonades would diminish dramatically once Gemayel's fate was known. Said he: "The only real purpose was to give Gemayel some time to save his posterior."

At week's end Gemayel was still scrambling to do just that. His best hope was to glue together an interim government, with the promise that progress will finally be made in the reconciliation talks. Though Berri and Jumblatt demanded Gemayel's removal, the Sunni Muslims have refrained from doing so lest the Shi'ites gain too much power. Though the Shi'ites outnumber the Sunnis in Lebanon (1.5 million *vs.* 800,000), the Sunnis traditionally have wielded more influence. The country's sectarian divisions may actually work to Gemayel's advantage: if they are unable to agree on a replacement, the factions might decide to stick with him after all. Said a top White House aide last Friday: "I give Gemayel a 60-to-40 chance as of today."

The only bargaining chip he had left was the May 17 Lebanese-Israeli accord. Shultz remains wedded to the pact, partly because he considers it his major diplomatic achievement; but most U.S. officials, notably Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, have concluded that the agreement must be sacrificed. In their view, the choice is a Gemayel regime without the accord, or a less friendly successor without the accord. Gemayel remains unsure of how to jettison the agreement; according to U.S. diplomats, the Lebanese President is still telling Muslims he never ratified the pact, while reminding the Israelis and Christians that he never aban-

# Of the 235 million people in America, only a fraction can use a computer.

# Introducing Macintosh. For the rest of us.

In the olden days, before 1984, not very many people used computers.

For a very good reason.

*Some particularly bright engineers.*

Not very many people knew how.

And not very many people wanted to learn.

After all, in those days, it meant listening to your stomach growl through computer seminars. Falling asleep over computer manuals. And staying awake nights to memorize commands so complicated you'd have to be a computer to understand them.

Then, on a particularly bright day in Cupertino, California, some particularly bright engineers had a particularly bright idea: since computers are so smart, wouldn't it make more sense to teach computers about people, instead of teaching people about computers?

So it was that those very engineers worked long days and late nights and a few legal holidays, teaching tiny silicon chips all about people. How they make mistakes and change their minds. How they refer to file folders and save old phone numbers. How they labor for their livelihoods, and doodle in their spare time.

For the first time in recorded computer history, hardware engineers actually talked to software engineers in moderate tones of voice, and both were united by a common goal: to build the most powerful, most portable, most flexible, most versatile computer not-very-much-money could buy.

And when the engineers were finally finished, they introduced us to a personal computer so personable, it can practically shake hands.

And so easy to use, most people already know how.

They didn't call it the QZ190, or the Zipchip 5000.

They called it Macintosh.™

And now we'd like to introduce it to you.

hello.

# If you can point, you can use a Macintosh.

You do it at baseball games. At the counter in grocery stores. And every time you let your fingers do the walking.

By now, you should be pretty good at pointing.

And having mastered the oldest known method of making yourself understood, you've also mastered using the most sophisticated personal computer yet developed.

Macintosh. Designed on the simple premise that a computer is a lot more useful if it's easy to use.

So, first of all, we made the screen layout resemble a desktop, displaying pictures of objects you'll have no trouble recognizing. File folders. Clipboards. Even a trash can.

Then, we developed a natural way for you to pick up, hold, and move these objects around.

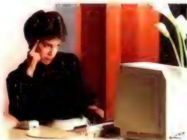
We put a pointer on the screen, and attached the pointer to a small, rolling box called a "mouse." The mouse fits in your hand, and as you move the mouse around your desktop, you move the pointer on the screen.

To tell a Macintosh Personal Computer what you want to do, you simply move the mouse until you're pointing to the object or function you want. Then click the button on top of the mouse, and you instantly begin working with that object. Open a file folder. Review the papers inside. Read a memo. Use a calculator. And so on.

And whether you're working with numbers, words or even pictures, Macintosh works the same basic way. In other words, once you've learned to use one Macintosh program, you've learned to use them all.

If Macintosh seems extraordinarily simple, it's probably because conventional computers are extraordinarily complicated.

FRANKS
SODAS
JUICES



# If you have a desk, you need a Macintosh.

Macintosh was designed for anyone who handles, collects, distributes, interprets, organizes, files, comprehends, generates, duplicates, or otherwise futzes with information.

Any information. Whether it's words, numbers or pictures.

We've narrowed it down to anyone who sits at a desk.

If, for example, your desk is in a

dormitory, Macintosh isn't just a tool, but a learning tool. For doing everything from problem sets in Astrophysics 538 to term papers in Art Appreciation 101. Not to mention perfecting skills in programming languages like Macintosh BASIC and Macintosh Pascal. Which explains why colleges and universities across the country are ordering Macintoshes by the campus-full.

If you own your own business, owning your own Macintosh Personal Computer could mean the difference between getting home before dark, and getting home before Christmas. With software programs like MacWrite, MacProject, MacTerminal, MacDraw, MacPaint, data base managers, business graphics programs and other personal productivity tools available from leading software developers, you can spend more time running your business, and less time chasing after it.

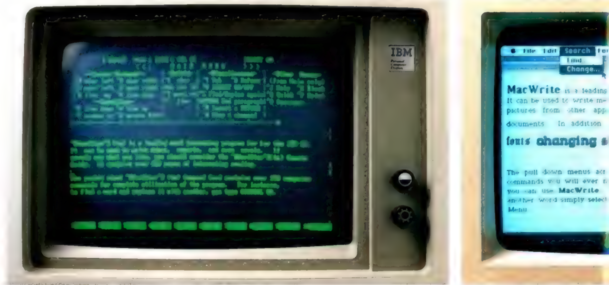
And even if you work for a company big enough to have its own mainframe or minicomputer, Macintosh can fit right in. It's fluent in DEC VT100, VT52 and plain old TTY. With additional hardware, it can talk to IBM mainframes in their very own 3278 protocols.

If your company has a subsidiary abroad, your colleagues there can use all the same tools. Because Macintosh will be available in international versions with local conventions (alphabets, currencies, dates, etc.).

In other words, wherever there's a desk, there's a need for a Macintosh.

And the less you can see of your desktop, the more you could use one.

# An ordinary personal computer makes Macintosh even easier to understand.




*Word processing before Macintosh*

In 1977, Apple set the first standard for the personal computer industry with the first generation Apple II.

In 1981, IBM set the second standard with their PC.

And in 1984, Macintosh will set the third industry standard, redefining the term "personal computer."

To give you an idea just how far the technology has advanced over the past three years, we're going to compare, screen-to-screen, the way IBM's PC and Macintosh perform five typical personal computer functions.

Take word processing, for example.

Any computer worth its weight in silicon does an adequate job of shuffling words. Provided, of course, you know all the keystroke "command sequences" to make it happen. And the IBM PC is no exception.

Macintosh, on the other hand, is quite an exception.

Using Macintosh's word processing program, MacWrite, anything and everything you might want to do with words can be done with a point-and-click of the mouse.

MacWrite not only shuffles words, it can shuffle them in many different type styles and sizes (not to mention boldface, italics and underlining). So you can create documents that look like they came from a typesetter, not a computer. For your foreign correspondence or scientific documents, the Macintosh keyboard gives you 217 characters including accented letters and mathematical symbols.

But what really separates Macintosh from the blue suits is its extraordinary ability to mix text with graphics. You can actually illustrate your words, memos and letters with tables, charts and freehand illustrations composed on other graphics programs. All by cutting and pasting with the mouse.

That capability alone makes Macintosh its very own form of communication. A new medium that allows you to supplement the power of the written word with the clarity of illustrations. In other words, if you can't make your point with a Macintosh, you may not have a point to make.

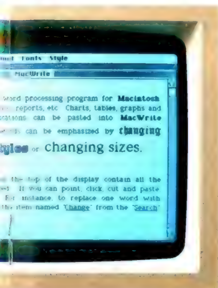
Actually, the difference between Macintosh and the IBM PC becomes obvious the minute you turn both of them on.

The two screens top right show you

precisely how each of them greets you. Notice the IBM presents you with a laundry list of files available for accessing. And multiple steps are required to "get at" the particular file you choose to work with.

Macintosh, on the other hand, shows you everything you've saved (charts, graphs, illustrations and documents), pretty much the same way you'd see them arranged on your desk. Choose one with the mouse, click, and you're ready to work.

Even comparing a program as




*MacWrite*

commonplace as the electronic spreadsheet clearly shows you that Macintosh is anything but commonplace.

Microsoft's* Multiplan for Macintosh has been designed to take full advantage of Macintosh's built-in Lisa Technology —clumsy cursor keys are replaced by a point-and-click of the mouse.

Let's say you want to change the width of a column in your spreadsheet. On the IBM PC, that's a 4-key command sequence. On Macintosh, you simply move the pointer and click.

Should you need to make a few quick computations before entering new spreadsheet figures, you can use the built-in desk calculator, for example.

When it comes to business graphics, in all fairness, IBM has color and bar charts to spare. Provided you can spare the additional cost to add the color card and separate color monitor required to make use of them.

When you compare the actual unit you purchase initially with our Macintosh, the IBM PC not only comes up short a few bar and pie charts, it draws a complete blank.

Macintosh uses its graphics program, Microsoft's Chart, to turn numbers nobody understands into charts and graphs that everybody understands. With it, you can "cut" numbers you want charted from another Macintosh program and "paste" them directly into Chart. Just choose the style of chart you want from a "pull-down" selection of pie and bar charts, line and scatter graphs. Then customize your graph with legends and labels in whatever type style your little chart requires.

There is one thing that the IBM PC manages to do as well as Macintosh: IBM 3278 terminal emulation, so you can communicate with heftier IBM's.

But with MacTerminal software, your Macintosh can also fully emulate all the popular DEC terminals.

*File listings before Macintosh*

*Macintosh's Finder*

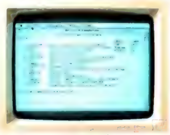
*Spreadsheets before Macintosh*

*Microsoft's Multiplan for Macintosh*

*Business graphics before Macintosh*

*Microsoft's Chart for Macintosh*

*Terminal emulation before Macintosh*



*MacTerminal*

*Comparisons made using standard configuration Macintosh and IBM PC (5150 2 disk unit, 256K bytes RAM, 5151 monitor), November 5, 1983*

# And here's where ordinary personal computers draw a blank.

You've just seen some of the logic, the technology, the engineering genius and the software wizardry that separates Macintosh from conventional computers.

*MacPaint produces virtually any image the human hand can create*

Now, we'd like to show you some of the magic.

First, there's MacPaint. A program that transforms Macintosh into a combination architect's drafting table, artist's easel and illustrator's sketch pad.

With MacPaint, for the first time, a personal computer can produce virtually any image the human hand can create. Because the mouse allows the human hand to create it.

MacPaint gives you total freedom to doodle. To cross-hatch. To spray paint. To fill-in. To erase.

And even if you're not a terrific artist, MacPaint includes special tools for designing everything from office forms to technical illustrations. Plus type styles to create captions, labels and headlines.

So you can have custom-designed graphics without hiring a design studio. Make your presentations more presentable by enlarging MacPaint illustrations or making transparencies for overhead projection. Or clarify a memo or report by "cutting out" your illustration and "pasting" it into your text.

What MacPaint does for helping you visualize your wildest imaginings, MacProject does for helping you visualize the unforeseen.

You simply enter all the tasks and resources involved in a project—whether it's opening a new office or producing a brochure—and MacProject will chart the "critical path" to completion, calculating dates and deadlines. If there's a single change in any phase of the project, it will automatically recalculate every phase.

So with MacProject, you can generate business plans and status reports that reflect the realities of the job, not the limitations of your computer.

But more important than the practical benefits of programs like MacPaint and MacProject, they represent the very tangible difference an attitude can make.

An attitude that the only thing

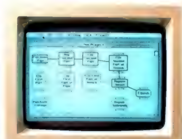
limiting what a computer can do, is the imagination of the people creating it.

Not just the engineers who design it, but software developers like Lotus® Development Corporation, currently developing a Macintosh version of their 1-2-3® program.

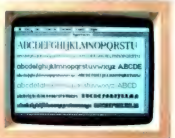
And Software Publishing Corp., with a new pfs:® filing program as easy to use as the Macintosh it was designed for.

And Microsoft, with Productivity-Tools, like Multiplan, Chart, File and Word.

If Macintosh has an extraordinary future ahead of it, it's because of the extraordinary people behind it.


*MacProject does for project management what VisiCalc® did for spreadsheets.*

*MacPaint can create both freehand sketches and precise technical illustrations.*



*If you don't see a typeface you like here, Macintosh lets you design your own.*

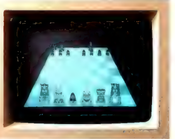
*"To create a new standard takes something that's not just a little bit different. It takes something that's really new and captures people's imaginations. Macintosh meets that standard." — Bill Gates, Chairman of the Board & CEO Microsoft Corporation.*

*"Macintosh is much more natural, intuitive and in line with how people think and work . . . this is going to change the way people think about personal computers. Macintosh sets a whole new standard, and we want our products to take advantage of this." — Mitch Kapor, President & CEO, Lotus Development Corporation.*

*"If you were to put machine "x" on the table and a Macintosh on the table beside it, and then put pfs software on both machines . . . like a taste test . . . we think Macintosh's benefits would be pretty obvious." — Fred Gibbons, President, Software Publishing Corporation.*

*Microsoft's Chart displays a more graphic approach to business graphics.*

*Using insets with MacPaint, you can even illustrate your illustrations.*


*With Macintosh's unlimited graphics, there'll soon be no limit to the games it can play.*

# What makes Macintosh tick. And, someday, talk.

Macintosh has a lot in common with that most uncommon computer, the Lisa™ personal office system.

*The garden variety 16 bit 8088 microprocessor.*

*Macintosh's 32 bit MC68000 microprocessor.*

Its brain is the same blindingly-fast 32-bit MC68000 microprocessor—far more powerful than the 16-bit 8088 found in current generation computers.

Its heart is the same Lisa Technology of windows, icons, pull-down menus and mouse commands—all of which makes that 32-bit power far more useful by making Macintosh far easier to use than current generation computers.

And, thanks to its size, if you can't bring the problem to a Macintosh, you can always bring a Macintosh to the problem. (Macintosh actually weighs 9 pounds less than the most popular "portable.")

*Standard 5 1/4" floppy disk.*

*Macintosh's 400K 3 1/2" disk.*

*Small footprint. Macintosh is 1/3 the size and volume of the IBM PC.*

Another miracle of miniaturization is Macintosh's built-in 3½" microfloppy drive. Its 3½" disks store more than conventional 5¼" floppies—400K. So while they're big enough to hold a deskfull of work, they're small enough to fit in a shirt pocket.

And speaking of talking, Macintosh has a built-in polyphonic sound generator capable of producing high quality speech or music.

On the back of the machine, you'll find built-in RS232 and RS422 AppleBus serial communications ports. Which means you can connect printers, modems and other peripherals without adding $150 cards. It also means that Macintosh is ready to hook in to a local area network. (With AppleBus, you can interconnect up to 16 different Apple® computers and peripherals.)

Should you wish to double Macintosh's storage with an external disk drive, you can do so without paying extra for a disk controller card—that connector's built-in, too.

And, of course, there's a built-in connector for Macintosh's mouse, a feature that costs up to $300 on computers that can't even run mouse-controlled software.

Of course, the real genius of Macintosh isn't its serial ports or its polyphonic sound generator.

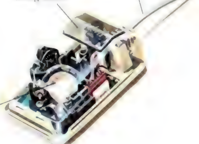
The real genius is that you don't have to be a genius to use a Macintosh.

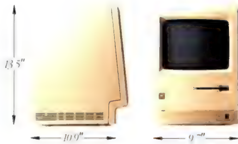
You just have to be smart enough to buy one.

*The Mouse itself. Replaces typed-in computer commands with a form of communication you already understand—pointing.*

*Some mice have two buttons. Macintosh has one. So it's extremely difficult to push the wrong button.*

*The inside story—a rotating ball and optical sensors translate movements of the mouse to Macintosh's screen pointer with pin point accuracy.*





Mouse connector.

External disk drive connector.

Polyphonic sound port

RS232, RS422 AppleBus serial communications ports for printers, modems and other peripherals.

Ultra compact, switching type power supply and high resolution video circuitry.

Battery for Macintosh's built in clock calendar.

9" high resolution 512 x 342 pixel bit-mapped display.

Built in handle for getting carried away.

Thanks to clever venting Macintosh requires no internal fan.

Brightness control.

128K bytes RAM.

Built in 3 1/2" disk drive.

Keyboard connector — a telephone type jack you already know how to use.

32 bit Motorola MC68000 microprocessor.

64K bytes ROM.

Clock calendar chip.

Macintosh's digital board — the processing power of an entire 32 bit digital graphics computer in 80 square inches.

# What to give the computer that has everything.

Macintosh comes well outfitted. The system includes the main unit (computer, display, built-in disk drive and firmware), a detached keyboard you can put wherever it feels most comfortable, the mouse, a System Disk (Finder and Desk Accessories), a Guided Tour of Macintosh tutorial disk and audio cassette, and one (count it), one manual.

Everything you'll need to start doing everything you'll need to do.

But, should your needs suddenly expand, so can Macintosh. As easily as putting a plug in a socket.

*Apple Numeric Keypad. Patterned after the standard accountant's calculator 10-key pad, the Numeric Keypad speeds up doing spreadsheets, accounting, any number of number-related tasks. It plugs directly into the keyboard, and works with Macintosh applications.*

*Apple Imagewriter Printer. Imagewriter produces high-fidelity printed copy of everything you see on a Macintosh screen. Multiple fonts. Pictures. Proportional text. Mixed text and graphics. And it prints on both sheet fed and tractor fed paper. It's fast, quiet and inexpensive.*

*Security Kit. Being transportable is one of Macintosh's many advantages. Provided it doesn't go anywhere without you. This specially designed security kit makes sure it doesn't. Metal plates snap into the main unit and keyboard. Then, a strong, steel cable loops through and locks to your desk.*

*Apple Modem. Using MacTerminal, a standard telephone and the Apple Modem, you can plug yourself into electronic information services like Dow Jones News Retrieval,™ The Source℠ and CompuServe.® Or communicate with other computers. It operates completely automatically, with both auto-dial and auto-answer, and comes in 300 and 300/1200 baud models.*

*Soft Carrying Case. At less than 20 pounds in weight, Macintosh is easily carried from here to there. But handles always help. This durable, water-resistant carrying case is thickly padded so the Macintosh main unit, keyboard, mouse, manual and disks fit snugly inside.*

*Macintosh External Disk Drive. By adding a second high-capacity (400K bytes) 3 1/2" disk drive like the one already built into your Macintosh, you can access more documents and programs without swapping disks. It also speeds making back-up copies of your information.*

Apple, the Apple logo, MacWrite, MacPaint, MacTerminal, MacProject, MacDraw and Lisa are trademarks of Apple Computer, Inc.

Macintosh is a trademark licensed to Apple Computer, Inc.

DEC is a registered trademark of Digital Equipment Corporation.

IBM is a registered trademark of International Business Machines Corporation.

1-2-3 and Lotus are trademarks of Lotus Development Corporation.

Microsoft is a registered trademark of Microsoft Corporation.

Multiplan is a trademark of Microsoft Corporation.

pfs is a registered trademark of Software Publishing Corporation.

VisiCalc is a registered trademark of VisiCorp.

The Source is a servicemark of Source Telecomputing Corporation, a subsidiary of The Readers Digest Association, Inc.

Dow Jones News/Retrieval is a trademark of Dow Jones & Company, Inc.

CompuServe is a registered trademark of CompuServe Corp.

WordStar is a trademark of MicroPro International Corporation.

Printed in USA.


We could, as they say in computerese, dump another Gigabyte (write another 50,000 or so pages) on Macintosh.

But you really can't appreciate how insanely great Macintosh is until you bring your index finger to an authorized Apple dealer.

Over 1,500 of them are eagerly waiting to put a mouse in your hand. To prove that, if you can point, you can use a Macintosh.

And if you can fill out a credit application, in most cases you can take one home the very same day. With the help of an Apple credit card.

Which makes owning the world's newest computer just as easy as using it.

Soon there'll be just two kinds of people. Those who use computers. And those who use Apples.

*For an authorized Apple dealer nearest you call (800) 538-9696. In Canada, call (800) 268-7796 or (800) 268-7637. © 1984 Apple Computer Inc.*

doned it. "Gemayel is still trying to walk the fence," says an American official. "He'll stay on it as long as possible."

The question now is whether the Phalangists will allow Gemayel to make concessions or whether they will try to fight it out in West Beirut. If Gemayel cannot form a new Cabinet acceptable both to his Christian supporters and to the Muslim militias that defeated his army last week, he will have virtually no chance of staying in power. One probable scenario would be for Gemayel to appoint a Cabinet of military officers, as President Bishara Khoury did in 1952, then announce that he was resigning for the good of the country. An interim government might be headed by Army Commander Tannous, a Maronite Christian; a new Cabinet would serve as a caretaker government until the parliament elected a new President.

PETER CHARLESWORTH

Lebanese Prime Minister Chafik al Wazzan leaves his residence to submit his resignation

The leading civilian contenders for the job would include Raymond Eddé, age 70, a Maronite political exile living in Paris, and Suleiman Franjieh, 73, a Maronite who served as President of Lebanon from 1970 to 1976 and is now an ally of Jumblatt's in the Syrian-backed National Salvation Front. Eddé, who went into exile because of fears of assassination, is the country's most popular politician, mainly because of his gilt-edged reputation for honesty. He is also stubborn, which would probably earn him a veto from Syria. Franjieh, on the other hand, is obviously on good terms with Damascus, and would enjoy its support.

If Gemayel does survive, it will only be with Syrian support. Besides abandoning the May 17 accord, he could be forced to appoint as Prime Minister a Syrian sympathizer like former Prime Minister Rashid Karami. Gemayel would have to loosen his ties with Israel and reduce Lebanon's dependence on Washington. Whatever happens, Syria is virtually certain to have additional leverage over Lebanon.

Most experts, however, believe that Syria neither seeks nor could obtain complete domination. "Syria's role is not now and, unless the U.S. forces the issue, never will be absolute," says William Quandt, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. "Lebanon cannot have a foreign policy that is fundamentally hostile to Syria, or to Israel for that matter. But it can remain independent and have an internal political life far freer than what is found in Syria."

Many Middle East specialists suggest that the U.S., instead of ordering the *New Jersey* to fire at the Syrians, should try harder to engage in a dialogue with them. The Reagan Administration is hampered by the fact that it still views Syria as little more than a Soviet puppet, although Assad is at best a prickly partner for Moscow. On the other hand, many experts believe that if Washington persists in spoiling for a battle with Syria, Assad will only gain prestige in the Middle East for standing up to a superpower. If the U.S. respects Syria's interests, its wily leaders may respond positively. Says Judith Kipper, resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute: "The Syrians are very eager to be treated as grownups and taken seriously."

Despite the further splintering of Lebanon, U.S. policymakers still subscribe, at least publicly, to the goals that they have always stated for the country: a broad-based government, a fairer division of national power and the withdrawal of all foreign forces. Honorable objectives, to be sure, but Washington may be realizing that their achievement is beyond its reach. Even Shultz did not sound optimistic. "Well, it's simply got to be possible," he told the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week, "but I can't point to things that suggest any high probability in the future."

An effigy of President Gemayel hangs in West Beirut

Pithier assessments could be obtained at Beirut airport, where preparations for the Marine withdrawal were already under way. "There doesn't seem to have been any point in all those Marines dying," said Corporal Stacy Spina, 22, of Williams, Minn. "Sometimes you get mad at the politicians and the world." Lance Corporal Charles Johnson, 22, of Louisville, Ky., told how he was looking forward to getting out. "There is no sense being here as sitting ducks," he said. "We are not serving any useful purpose." As he spoke, Army trucks loaded with diesel generators rumbled by. The convoy drove across the runway to the beach, where helicopters hoisted their cargo and ferried it out to ships on the horizon.

If stationing the Marines in Lebanon was a mistake, the inept handling of last week's policy reversal only compounded the error. The new tack, moreover, seemed no more sensible than the old, and it may stand no better chance of succeeding. "Who is running the show in there now?" Major Dennis Brooks, the Marine spokesman, asked last week, cocking his head toward Beirut. He did not know, nor, alas, did the policymakers in Washington. —***By James Kelly. Reported by John Borrell and William Stewart/Beirut and Laurence I. Barrett/Washington***

# The Power of Perception

*Reagan's decision widens rifts at home and abroad*

The ambiguity and confusion that surrounded the Reagan Administration's latest military moves in Lebanon quickly took on a life of their own last week. From Capitol Hill to the Mediterranean littoral and beyond, both friends and foes of the White House reacted with concern and dismay to what they saw as sudden twists and turns of U.S. policy in coping with the increasingly unmanageable situation in Beirut. In the process, rifts were opened between the Reagan Administration and Congress, between the U.S. and its closest Western and Middle Eastern allies, and even between President Reagan and some of his staunchest conservative supporters. Hovering over these troubles were larger questions about the American exercise of power in the world.

For months, President Reagan has used his vaunted skills as a communicator to describe the Marine deployment in Lebanon as a sign of U.S. credibility and steadfastness in that country and throughout the Middle East. But in taking that tack, the President also managed to raise the political and diplomatic stakes surrounding any change in U.S. dispositions in Lebanon. The more that Reagan insisted on the importance of the Marine presence, the more he courted the risk that a tactical change in Lebanon would appear as a major U.S. defeat, even in response to circumstances that were not of U.S. making and beyond U.S. control.

Matters were not helped when Lebanon became a focal point of partisan politics. Sensing an advantageous election issue, congressional Democrats had intended to bring a resolution demanding Marine withdrawal from Lebanon before the House when Congressmen returned from an eleven-day recess on Feb. 21. Even some Republicans were sympathetic. In a provocative radio broadcast, only days before his sudden announcement of the Marine "redeployment" and the new rules for U.S. naval and aerial engagement in Lebanon, Reagan urged that the U.S. not "cut and run" from its positions. In an interview with the *Wall Street Journal*, the President took a hard swipe at House Speaker Tip O'Neill, who had called Reagan's policy in Lebanon a failure, by declaring that O'Neill "may be ready to surrender, but I'm not." White House Spokesman Larry Speakes went a step further, accusing Democrats of promoting, through their withdrawal resolution, action that "aids and abets" enemies of the Lebanese peace process. Although the White House had, in fact, seriously considered repositioning the Marines as early as Jan. 21, it laid no groundwork whatever for a change in plans.

Secretary of State Shultz testifying on Lebanon

Defense Secretary Weinberger and Joint Chiefs Chairman Vessey on Capitol Hill

The initial reaction last week among many Congressmen, particularly Democrats, to the changing events in Lebanon was a mixture of relief and disappointment. Said Democratic Congressman Stephen Solarz of New York: "I don't think that the collapse of a pro-Western government in Lebanon and the failure of our policy there is a cause for rejoicing, but I'm inclined to believe that withdrawing the Marines is a good idea." Said Republican Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland: "The President has recognized the irreversible drift of events." Among election strategists, the feeling was that the President had won a neat domestic political advantage by removing the issue of the beleaguered Marines from the upcoming presidential campaign. Said Republican Pollster V. Lance Tarrance: "Ronald Reagan has moved from a sitting duck to a moving target." Congressman Tony Coelho, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, described the redeployment decision as "a genius stroke."

Expressions of concern came from those who gave first consideration to the diplomatic implications of the move. The Administration turnaround seemed to concede to Syria the leading role in Lebanon and give to the Soviet Union renewed entrée as a Middle Eastern powerbroker. More generally, U.S. allies, as well as key neutral nations, could draw the conclusion that the U.S. was indecisive despite the Administration's tough talk. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was quick to note that such a perception of U.S. actions was "likely to be quite serious throughout the Middle East and maybe in other parts of the world." Kissinger said that he "would have been very reluctant" to move the Marines, but added, "the Administration ought to have a chance to explain what it is doing and do its thing."

Then the U.S. battleship *New Jersey* began its bombardment. Suddenly the concern in Congress was how the Administration's new rules of engagement squared with the terms of the 1973 War Powers Resolution, which was the basis of congressional approval five months ago for the Marine presence in Lebanon. Senate Republican Leader Howard Baker formally asked the White House for an explanation. On Wednesday, Speaker O'Neill declared that the bombing and shelling of Syrian positions in Lebanon were "absolutely not" within the discretionary powers of the President under last year's congressional approval for sending in the Marines.

On Thursday, after Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, accompanied by Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General John Vessey, told a House com-

# How to give an ounce of mail a ton of IMPACT!

The distinctive look of an E-COM® letter carries a lot of weight with recipients. The bold blue stripe conveys a sense of urgency. So the message inside is conveyed effectively.

Consider the impact E-COM service could give your sales letters, promotional announcements and invoices. Then consider the fact that with E-COM service, the post office computer does all the work. You simply have your messages transmitted to us as data—either directly by telephone or by an E-COM communications carrier. We print your letters, inserting any personalized text you may specify. We fold them. Then we mail them—First-Class Mail®—in eye-stopping envelopes that make people start reading. For more information, call your communications carrier or your local Postmaster. We'll help you figure out the best way to link up with E-COM service. And show you how an ounce of mail can carry a lot more weight.

© USPS 1983

mittee that only 500 Marines would be moved offshore from Beirut by the end of February, the sense of congressional bewilderment and hostility rose even higher. When Secretary of State George Shultz appeared before the same committee to testify on the Lebanese political situation, Republican Congressman William S. Broomfield of Michigan warned, "We are wondering whether or not our policy [in Lebanon] is dramatically changing." Emerging from private briefings by Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth W. Dam on the intended Marine redeployment, Democrats and Republicans alike expressed scorn and consternation. Said a Republican Senator after the meetings: "They don't want to leave Lebanon without some measure of success. That doesn't sound like withdrawal to me. They don't have any intention of leaving." Republican Congressman Trent Lott, the House minority whip, said he told Dam, "You

TERRY ASHE

**Senate Majority Leader Baker**

*Demanding an explanation of U.S. policy.*

people are not in touch with reality." Said Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd: "It's not only chaos and confusion over there, it's confusion and chaos here."

There was also confusion in Europe, as well as some annoyance at the vagaries of U.S. policy. Informed four to five hours in advance of the U.S. redeployment, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher ordered the removal from Beirut of her country's 115-member contingent of the four-nation Multi-National Force. According to a Thatcher aide, the move was "not dependent on what attitude the United States took." Indeed it was not. TIME has learned that the British plan to distance themselves even further from current U.S. policy by withdrawing their MNF contingent to Cyprus.

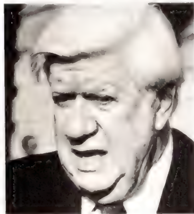
The British have long been skeptical of the entire U.S. peace-keeping strategy in Lebanon, especially Washington's unblinking support for Lebanese President Amin Gemayel and its use of force against Syrian positions. Britain, always a reluctant member of the MNF, now regards an accommodation between President Reagan and Syrian President Hafez Assad as essential to any Lebanese solution. London has concluded that Gemayel must step down and that the May 17 accord between his government and Israel, calling for the mutual withdrawal of Syrian and Israeli forces from Lebanon, is effectively meaningless.

Privately, British officials were blunt in observing that U.S. prestige suffered badly as a result of the collapse of Gemayel's government and the announcement of the Marine redeployment. Said a London diplomat: "Now Soviet propaganda can have a field day with what is truthfully a humiliating defeat for American foreign policy." The French were even more critical, although their 1,250-member MNF detachment will remain in Beirut while President François Mitterrand seeks a U.N. replacement. Said a senior French spokesman: "We will either revive the idea of a U.N. force [in Beirut], or we will conclude that that is impossible and accept the consequences. We certainly won't put our troops on boats, to sit and watch the debacle from the balcony." Adding their voices to the general complaint, Italian officials announced that they too hope to withdraw their 1,200-member force from Beirut in favor of a U.N. contingent, even though creation of such a force would be unthinkable in the face of presumed Soviet opposition. In Rome, Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti summoned U.S. Ambassador Maxwell Rabb to ask pointedly what the U.S. naval bombardment in Lebanon was expected to achieve.

Among Washington's moderate Arab friends in the Middle East, the redeployment and the thunder of U.S. naval batteries produced a different kind of apprehension. For the most part, the moderate Arab states were caught between a fear of weakening U.S. power and prestige in the region and a concern that increasingly direct U.S. confrontation with Syria would harden the lines between Arab states, on the one hand, and the U.S. and Israel, on the other. The latest U.S. military moves were particularly troubling for Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who, along with King Hussein of Jordan, is scheduled to meet with President Reagan in Washington on Tuesday. Mubarak's government is maneuvering to regain admittance to the Arab League, from which Egypt was expelled following the 1979 signing of the Camp David accords. Syria holds a veto over Egypt's renewed membership in the league. Officially, Cairo had no comment on the U.S.'s tactical shifts in Lebanon.

Saudi Arabia did not have much to say either. Two weeks ago, Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah surprised U.S. officials with a declaration that the Marines ought to be getting Israeli forces out of Lebanon; publicly at least, the Saudis now seem to be less concerned that the U.S. is taking sides in the Lebanese maelstrom. Nonetheless, Saudi Arabia, like the other oil-rich states of the Persian Gulf, is always worried about any U.S. moves that might be construed as giving a boost to their three most feared enemies: Syria, Iran and the U.S.S.R. Said a member of the foreign ministry from one of the gulf states: "We do not want to see Syria any more powerful than it is. Together with Iran, they can only cause us trouble."

The most vociferous support for the U.S. bombardment came from Israel. "The shelling is very important," said an Israeli spokesman close to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. "They should have done it two weeks or ten days ago. It is the only language the Syrians understand." With much to lose from the fall of the Gemayel government, Israel was quick to argue that any perception of U.S. withdrawal from Lebanon would, in the words of one official, "have catastrophic consequences for the U.S. position in the Middle East."



**Speaker of the House O'Neill**

*Calling the President's policy a failure.*

Even among a prominent handful of President Reagan's normally unswerving conservative proponents, the confusion created by the Administration's actions last week was cause for an unraveling of previous support. One of the conservative standard-bearers who lashed out at the White House was Columnist George Will. He argued that the decision to redeploy the Marines, however it was put into effect, amounted to a "use of military assets as incompetent as the Iranian rescue mission or the Bay of Pigs." Calling the shift of U.S. troops a "retreat," Will charged that the U.S. may be "in the process of erasing itself" from the Middle East. Another conservative pundit, the New York *Times's* William Safire, agreed: "We are failing because we want to settle, and the other side wants to win." In seeking to influence events from a position of both military safety and military strength in Lebanon, the Reagan Administration seemed to have achieved the worst of both worlds. —***By George Russell. Reported by Neil MacNeil and Johanna McGeary/ Washington, with other bureaus***

Reach for a world of flavor.
MERIT

The low-tar cigarette that changed smoking.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.
© Philip Morris Inc. 1984
8 mg "tar," 0.6 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Mar. '83

*"The quality of Smirnoff is classical. Its value merits a standing ovation."*

PINCHAS ZUKERMAN,
world-renowned violinist.

"When I play, I strive for the highest quality in my performance.

"I look for the same standards in my vodka. I know that Smirnoff® vodka is distilled from the finest grain, and then checked 47 times for quality and smoothness. In short, it offers a virtuoso performance. You may pay a little more, but you'll find Smirnoff is worth more.

"When it comes to vodka, Smirnoff plays second fiddle to none."

Smirnoff
LEAVES YOU BREATHLESS

There's vodka, and then there's Smirnoff.

# The Long Road to Disaster

*After 17 months, the U.S. effort to rebuild Lebanon has failed*

In retrospect, it never worked particularly well as a nation-state. But during the late 1950s and 1960s, Lebanon was prosperous, relatively peaceful, more or less democratic, a relaxed oasis of tolerance for the Islamic world. Beneath its patina of tranquillity, however, stirred future troubles: a bewildering mixture of sectarian communities that had fought one another, on and off, for centuries. Two events brought the latent antagonisms to the surface: the decision by the Palestine Liberation Organization in the late 1960s to establish its principal base of operations in Lebanon, and Israel's disastrous invasion of the country in 1982.

At the time Lebanon became independent in 1943, after 23 years of French rule under a League of Nations mandate, political power was largely divided between Maronite Christians and Sunni Muslims. This demographic equilibrium was jeopardized by the influx of Palestinian refugees following the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948 and 1967 and Jordan's 1971 crackdown on the P.L.O. The resulting destabilization led to Lebanon's 1975-76 civil war, to the presence of Syrian forces, and to the P.L.O.'s "state within a state."

On several occasions, Israel moved into southern Lebanon in response to sporadic Palestinian shelling of settlements in northern Israel. A U.S.-negotiated cease-fire in 1981 brought those attacks to a halt, but in June 1982 Israel used them—as well as the attempted assassination of its ambassador in London—as a pretext to invade Lebanon. Instead of merely clearing the border area, as Prime Minister Menachem Begin and his Defense Minister Ariel Sharon had promised, the army charged ahead to Beirut. The real aims of Israel's Peace for Galilee campaign: to destroy the P.L.O., humiliate the Syrians and reinforce Lebanon's Christian-dominated government.

The U.S. finally brokered an end to Israel's 40-day siege of Beirut, and effected a cease-fire to facilitate the forced evacuation from Lebanon of some 12,000 P.L.O. commandos. It then offered to contribute Marines to a multinational peace-keeping force that would act as a sort of police guard for the departing guerrillas as well as for the Palestinian civilians left behind in refugee camps. But the U.S. pulled out its troops after only two weeks. A traumatic series of events immediately followed: President-elect Bashir Gemayel was assassinated, Israeli forces occupied Muslim West Beirut, and vengeful Christian militiamen murdered some 700 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps. The U.S. brought the Marines back to help restore order.

Then came the period of lost opportunity: the failure to impose a diplomatic solution on a war-weary region. The U.S. offered a peace plan for the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, but did not press it effectively. Even the withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian forces from Lebanon proved unattainable. Secretary of State George Shultz made the mistake of accepting some vague assurances from the Syrians that they would leave Lebanon if the Israelis did too. After months of U.S. diplomatic shuttling around the Middle East, Shultz got his Israeli-Lebanese withdrawal agreement. But the pact was worthless because the Syrians, by now rearmed to the hilt by the Soviet Union, were not about to leave. They felt that the agreement legitimized the 1982 invasion by giving Israel special rights in southern Lebanon.

In September, hoping to reduce their continuing casualties, the Israelis decided to withdraw from the Beirut area and the Chouf Mountains to a new line along the Awali River some 17 miles to the south. During their occupation, however, the Israelis had allowed Phalangist militiamen to move into areas of the Chouf previously controlled by the Druze. Fearing an outbreak of hostilities between the two factions, the U.S. urged the Israelis to delay their redeployment until the newly trained Lebanese Army could fill the vacuum. The Israelis postponed their withdrawal by only a few days. As soon as they pulled out on Sept. 4, fighting broke out.

On one side were the Druze and the Shi'ite Muslim forces, backed and armed by the Syrians. On the other were the Lebanese Army and, unfortunately, the Marines, whose role was now being described by the Reagan Administration as upholding the government of President Amin Gemayel. Increasingly, the U.S. forces fought back as they came under attack, but they were woefully unprepared for the realities of Lebanon, as demonstrated by the Shi'ite terrorist bombing of last Oct. 23, which took the lives of 241 Marines.

Though he often talked about national reconciliation, there is little evidence that the young and inexperienced Amin Gemayel, a Maronite Christian, made any concerted effort to become President of all the Lebanese. Moreover, the agreement he had signed with Israel last May at Washington's urging drove a wedge between him and the Lebanese Muslims, who wanted no part of a pact with Israel. Nonetheless, Gemayel had one final chance. Last November he managed to assemble at Geneva the leaders of the principal Lebanese factions. The meeting went surprisingly well, but the Muslims and the Druze insisted that before anything else could be done, Gemayel must abrogate his agreement with Israel. So he went off to Washington to seek support from the Reagan Administration. The agreement was not really of any use to anybody, but the Israelis treasured it as their only souvenir of a purposeless war. The Administration did not even consider helping Gemayel in his crisis. It urged him to try a little harder and sent him home.

Last week, as Druze and Shi'ite forces took over West Beirut, the U.S. indicated that in the future it would help defend what was left of the Gemayel government by hurling 16-in. shells into the Chouf Mountains in the general direction of Syria. With Muslim and Druze militias in control everywhere in the region except the Christian enclave of East Beirut, the Marines' mission impossible seemed at an end. *—By William E. Smith. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Johanna McGeary/Washington*

RUDI FREY

**U.S. Marines bounding ashore as they arrived in Beirut for the first time in August 1982**

*As Muslim forces took over West Beirut, the U.S. ordered an end to the mission impossible.*

# Primed for a Test

*Mondale's campaign: A glass train or an unstoppable iron horse?*

It has been a cakewalk—so far. He has raised almost twice as much money as his nearest competitor. The AFL-CIO, the United Auto Workers, the National Education Association and the National Organization for Women all support him. So do Tip O'Neill, Robert Strauss, perhaps 100 members of the House, New York Governor Mario Cuomo, Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, Detroit Mayor Coleman Young. Concedes a top strategist: "The worst Pollyanna in our bunch wouldn't have been able to predict last December that we would be in this position now."

But one question remains, and it is the most important one of all: When the voting starts, will people line up behind Walter Mondale? Despite the gathering momentum of his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, skeptics note that Mondale has not aroused the electorate, that his support, in the words of one, is "a mile wide and an inch thick." Another doubter likens Mondale's campaign to a glass train: one bump, and it is sure to shatter.

After long months of polishing and revving up, the Mondale locomotive is poised for its first tests, in the Iowa caucuses next week and the New Hampshire primary on Feb. 28. Mondale, 56, will be running against seven other Democrats and the high expectations generated by his picture-perfect campaign. "A win's a win," argues acting Campaign Chairman James Johnson, who rightly scoffs at the claim of rivals that Mondale must get 60% of the votes in Iowa and New Hampshire or be seen as slipping. Still, anything less than a 10% margin of victory over the runner-up in New Hampshire—and at least 40% of the vote in Iowa—might be interpreted by the press as a defeat, and this has filled Mondale staffers with gloomy imaginings. What if Jesse Jackson surprises in New Hampshire and siphons votes from their man? What if Mondale supporters stay home, assuming their votes will not be needed? What if cantankerous Democrats register their protest at the notion that they are being run over by a Mondale machine before they can even be heard?

All of the fretting is prudent in the unpredictable arena of primary politics, but it is probably unwarranted. A new nationwide poll of Democrats and independents taken for TIME by Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc. shows that Mondale is still on a roll. Last December his lead over John Glenn was 34% to 18%; now it has jumped to 50% to 18%, a leap of 16 percentage points. Worse yet for Glenn and the other candidates is that the undecided vote has fallen from 26% to 14% in that period, with most of those who made up their minds apparently choosing Mondale. Perhaps wishfully, the other campaigners had considered the uncertain voters as likely to be anti-Mondale. Jackson is a distant third at 6%.

Mondale holds commanding leads in Iowa and New Hampshire as Democrats in those states prepare to make their choices. A mid-January poll by the Des Moines *Register* gives him a 49%-to-20% margin over Glenn. Alan Cranston and George McGovern tied for third place at 6%. A Boston *Globe* survey late last month shows Mondale ahead of Glenn, 42% to 19%, in New Hampshire. Jackson is next with 10%, ahead of Gary Hart's 8%.

Mondale owes some of his lead to the failings of his rivals. Most disappointing has been John Glenn, the astronaut turned Senator. His hero status and centrist politics made him a logical match for Ronald Reagan. But the more Glenn hit the stump, the further he fell in the polls. He comes off as a good, gray technocrat, offering facts, not vision, often lapsing into jargon and digressions that leave audiences drowsy. He can show zest, though, sometimes speaking clearly and substantively on favorite issues, such as arms control and cutting the budget deficit. Since his positions are closer to the center than Mondale's, Glenn theoretically has a larger pool of support. But he needs to rebound quickly if he is to challenge the front runner.

Few of the others are doing any better. Cranston jokes that "I had a full head of hair until Reagan became President," but even his TV ads bring out a flaw that is not the California Senator's fault: in an age of imagery, his bony build and glistening skull are unpresidential. With his brains and looks, Gary Hart should be a winning candidate. But his natural reserve makes him seem cold, even condescending. Ernest Hollings looks like a President, yet his quick tongue outpaces even his nimble wit; he rambles, improvises and seems to startle himself, as well as his audiences, by what he has just said. George McGovern's sincerity, clarity and professorial calm have piqued the interest of a new generation of college students who were children when the former presidential candidate led his party against the Viet Nam War in 1972. To the mainstream of voters, however, he appears quaint, quixotic and too liberal. Reubin Askew remains a blur, with low name recognition even among recent residents of his home state, Florida. Only Jesse Jackson, irrepressible and sometimes outrageous, seems to be gaining converts in his long-shot crusade. But while Jackson has shown that a black can be a potent force in the primaries, he seems more of a lever for black demands than a legitimate threat to win the nomination. His cam-

Photographs for TIME by Diana Walker

Mondale stumping in Tifton, Ga.: fretting prudently while riding high

A briefing in New Hampshire

A stare-down in Iowa

A laugh in Massachusetts

paign is disorganized, and he delivers messages rather than programs.

So how did Mondale, who has some deficiencies of his own, achieve such a solid lead in the Democratic race? Only a decade ago, he withdrew from the primaries with one of the most self-damning confessions in recent political memory: "I do not have the overwhelming desire to be President." Even his Minnesota mentor, Hubert Humphrey, wondered whether Mondale had "fire in the belly." That question, which once seemed an obstacle to Mondale's presidential ambitions, has been laid to rest. These days Fritz's boilers glow red hot as he assails Reagan for replacing the New Deal with "the double deal" and promoting "a jungle where only the richest and fittest prosper."

Oddly, Mondale's recent revival is reminiscent of Richard Nixon's nomination course almost two decades ago. Like Nixon, Mondale inhaled the thin but exhilarating air of the White House as a Vice President and concluded that he was big enough to fill the Oval Office. Like Nixon, he spent years courting his party's regional powerbrokers and filled his pockets with political IOUs. Also reminiscent of Nixon, Mondale found a prosperous law firm to replenish his meager personal finances while he ran virtually full time for the presidential nomination. Mondale draws a $150,000 annual salary from the Chicago-based law firm of Winston & Strawn, working out of its Washington office. He hit the lecture circuit, charging fees of up to $20,000 and earning about $110,000 from Jewish groups alone over two years. He taught periodically at the University of Minnesota and served on the board of Control Data Corp., whose headequarters are in Minneapolis. In all, he earned nearly $1 million in just two years, about four times his net worth when he left the vice presidency in 1981.

The Fritz blitz began while the wounds of the 1980 Carter-Mondale loss to Reagan were still smarting. Three months after the election, Mondale formed a political action committee called the Committee for the Future of America, which raised $2.1 million for Democratic congressional candidates running in 1982. Mondale shrewdly achieved two aims: he earned the gratitude of all those candidates and gained invaluable lists of likely donors to Democratic campaigns, most pointedly his own. (Today Mondale refuses PAC money, charging that PACs are used by special interests to buy political influence.)

In the summer of 1981, the Hunt Commission (named for its chairman, Governor James Hunt of North Carolina) met to draw up new rules for the Democratic Party's 1984 nominating process. The party pros had some valid complaints: the primary season was too long, overworking the candidates and turning off voters. Earlier reforms opening the party to more women, blacks and party neophytes had gone too far, reducing the rewards of longtime party loyalty and the influence of seasoned officials. Democratic stalwarts had been denied the nomination by comparative upstarts like McGovern and Jimmy Carter. Representatives of Mondale, Senator Edward Kennedy and organized labor dominated the commission. Their operatives devised a primary process stacked against underfinanced or late-starting loners.

The new rules expanded the number of delegate votes at the Democratic Convention from 3,331 to 3,933 (actually there will be 5,257 delegates in San Francisco this July, some casting only half votes). Elected Democratic officials and party activists were guaranteed about 850 seats, including 164 set aside for members of the House and 27 for Senators. States were permitted to require a candidate to win 20% of a congressional district's vote to qualify for delegates, or even award all the delegates in a

district to the leading vote getter. Both methods favor front runners. Established candidates also got a boost from the decision to cluster 31 primaries and caucuses, in which almost half of the total delegates will be chosen, within the first six weeks of the primary season.

Mondale knew it would take a big campaign kitty to run in all of those momentum-setting early primaries and that anyone without a lot of cash would have to pick his shots carefully. If a candidate guessed wrong, he might face a pivotal primary without enough money to compete.

While Mondale has been accused of being too cautious, his campaign strategy was the boldest of the bunch. It was to push for big bucks and run almost everywhere at once, trusting that his physical stamina and dollars would hold out. None of his competitors have tried to match his unstinting campaign.

Mondale did something else right: he gathered a team of seasoned pros, who seem unlikely to fold if things get tough. Acting Campaign Chairman Johnson, 40, a former aide to Mondale in the Senate and vice presidency, is cerebral, controlled and known for his keen political instincts. Campaign Manager Robert Beckel, 36, beefy and boisterous, handles the nitty-gritty details of daily tactics. Senior Political Adviser John Reilly, 55, came out of Jack and Robert Kennedy campaigns and has helped corral endorsements. Campaign Treasurer Michael Berman, 44, talkative, assertive and warm, has a firm grip on cash-flow problems.

Despite this formidable lineup, the Mondale camp occasionally seems insecure. The candidate and his aides are thin-skinned about criticism. Press Secretary Maxine Isaacs, in particular, turns icy when a reporter does not readily accept Mondale's interpretation of political issues. Some aides get rankled, especially whenever reporters note that a Mondale-supported bill requiring imported cars to contain certain percentages of U.S.-made parts and labor is "protectionist," as it clearly is. Mondale himself seems wary of journalists, rarely chatting informally with them on campaign flights.

The support of labor, whatever its impact on the public perception of Mondale as a captive of special interests, is a tremendous asset to his campaign. Some political analysts estimate that the combination of union organizational help and actual contributions is worth some $20 million, which is about a third of what Mondale expects to spend in the primaries and general-election campaign. Mondale's foes attack him for courting labor so assiduously, but most of them also did so and now envy his success.

In the early make-or-break primaries and caucuses, labor's manpower means more to Mondale's well-heeled campaign than money. In Iowa, for example, the AFL-CIO has some 100,000 members, a number roughly equal to the anticipated turnout in the caucuses. The national headquarters of the labor group has sent 35 organizers to the state to direct the drive to win delegates for Mondale. Using telephone banks, a direct-mail campaign and union newsletters, the leaders expect to reach all of the membership with pro-Mondale appeals. The U.A.W. will try to persuade its 40,000 members in Iowa to support Mondale in the caucuses. The United Food and Commercial Workers Union, which sent 3,500 of its members to the caucuses in 1980, expects to raise that figure to some 6,000 this year. This union is using about 900 volunteers in the state to run a voter-registration drive among its members. About 250 teachers are working 21 telephone banks for Mondale in Iowa.

New Hampshire is a less unionized state. But even there, the state AFL-CIO's membership list of 37,000 is a fertile field for harvesting Mondale votes. Last month some 60 union volunteers kept eleven phone banks manned throughout the state, soliciting help for the Minnesotan. AFL-CIO Field Representative Charlie Stott estimates that 15,000 of the roughly 110,000 people expected to vote in New Hampshire will be members of the AFL-CIO. This kind of union activity can be duplicated in almost any state where Mondale needs the labor push. Glenn's aides said last week that they plan to ask the Federal Election Commission to investigate their charge that the Mondale campaign organization has failed to report fully the assistance it has received from labor in Iowa and New Hampshire.

On the issues, Mondale and his rivals are in surprising accord, though their emphasis and rhetoric tend to highlight their differences. All of the candidates favor some kind of freeze on nuclear arms. Cranston, McGovern and Hollings urge that the U.S. try such a freeze unilaterally to see if the Soviets go along. Askew would freeze the number of warheads and missiles and the total destructive power but permit modernization of weapons under these limits. All would hold real military spending increases to 3% or 6% a year, except McGovern, who would slash such spending by 25%, and Jackson, who would cut it by an unspecified amount. All would kill the multiwarhead MX, and all except Jackson, Cranston and McGovern push for a single-warhead, mobile missile. (The Reagan Administration argues that the MX is needed to guarantee U.S. security until a new single-warhead missile is operational.) Only Cranston and Glenn would develop the B-1 bomber. Hollings alone advocates a draft.

On the deficit, Hollings' call for a flat one-year freeze on virtually all federal

Former Astronaut Glenn gets a patriotic greeting from schoolchildren in Rome, Ga.

Dancing at Legion post in New Hampshire

Lunching with a farmer in Screven, Ga.

Photographs for TIME by P.F. Bentley—Photoreporters

spending and a 3% limit on annual increases thereafter is the most sweeping proposal. The other candidates urge various combinations of defense-budget cuts; a delay in the indexing of income tax rates to inflation; postponement or cancellation of Reagan's third-year, 10% tax cut; surtaxes on high-income earners; and steps to close tax loopholes and to check the rise in medical costs.

In foreign affairs, all except Glenn stress the need for U.S.-Soviet summit meetings to reduce tensions. All would cut off U.S. aid to the rebels fighting the Marxist-led government in Nicaragua, and all would halt military aid to the Salvadoran regime unless death-squad activity stops. McGovern would withdraw U.S. military aid and troops from Central America, including Honduras. None of the Democrats would loosen U.S. ties to Israel, although McGovern and Jackson urge a more even hand in the Middle East. Yet even Jackson praises Israel as "the most brilliant flower in God's garden."

The candidates are jockeying for position on the ideological spectrum. Cranston, McGovern and Jackson dilute Mondale's image as a superliberal. Glenn is to the right of Mondale, but nevertheless supports labor's domestic-content bill, expanded Medicaid coverage and increased food-stamp benefits. Hart's generational politics, stressing "new ideas," makes him something of a neoliberal, but on many issues his liberalism is as traditional as Mondale's. Askew's qualified antiabortion position—he would allow it in cases of incest, rape, threat to the mother's life or fetal deformity—draws one-issue support from conservative Democrats. The fuzzy spectrum comes full circle with Jackson, who, as a clergyman, enjoys the backing of some religious fundamentalists despite his far-left positions on most issues.

Mondale's Democratic rivals have found him a rather elusive target. They have been hammering away at him for catering to special-interest groups, but Mondale can be a skillful counterpuncher. When Glenn put the question bluntly ("Will we offer a party that can't say no to anyone with a letterhead and a mailing list?"), Mondale coolly replied that the Reagan tax-cut bill of 1981 placed special interests above the national interest and noted that Glenn had voted for it.

Still, the fact that Mondale has made many promises to many groups continues to hurt him. Allied with it is the claim that he either cannot deliver on those promises or, to do so, will have to spend billions that the Government does not have. The *Wall Street Journal* estimated that the Minnesotan's pledges would cost a minimum of $45 billion, and possibly twice that much. Mondale replied that the *Journal* had compiled "false assumptions and misleading comparisons" from campaign generalities. Indeed, Mondale's numerous promises have been described in such broad terms that it is difficult to translate them into specific legislation, much less put a price tag on them.

Perhaps his most controversial promise was his pledge to labor to "match other countries' export subsidies, product for product and dollar for dollar." The Congressional Budget Office says that this might cost $50 billion. Mondale asserts that once a few key subsidies had been met, foreign countries would get the message and voluntarily cut their own supports.

Mondale has proposed $11 billion in additional federal aid to teachers, students and public schools. He would add $3 billion to the existing Title I program of special help to students from poor families. He advocates a $4.5 billion "fund for excellence" to be used by local school districts as they wish. Mondale claims he could pay for all of this with military savings, tax surcharges on the wealthy, and five other specific measures.

Mondale may have great difficulty fulfilling his promise to women to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, which requires approval by three-fourths of the states. He wants the Federal Government to eliminate sex differentials in the pay of federal workers. He says he would take steps to remedy the pay disparities between jobs traditionally held by men and those dominated by women. Under the contentious principle of "comparable worth," he would equalize pay for jobs requiring the same level of skill and effort; a counselor for the handicapped, say, might be paid the same as an equipment operator. Most economists feel that comparable worth cannot be quantified, and would be prohibitively expensive even if it could. The only way to set pay scales in a large, complex economy, they say, is through the supply and demand of the market.

**A happy moment for long-shot Candidate Gary Hart at a Sears store in Manchester, N.H.**

*"The future can only be secured with a President who dares to be bold, not cautious."*

Mondale's rhetoric sometimes borders on demagoguery when he addresses the elderly. "Reagan is trying to repeal Medicare by stealth," he tells residents of old-age homes, noting that the President has proposed a hike in some Medicare premiums from $14 to $40 a month. He accuses Reagan of slicing $80 billion out of future Social Security benefits without conceding that this was part of a bipartisan package to save the program from bankruptcy.

Mondale professes to relish a fight with the President over campaign promises and special interests. He cites Reagan's 1980 vow to balance the budget as the biggest unkept promise in political history. He charges that Reagan's tax and budget cuts were a sellout to corporations and the wealthy. Mondale ticks off the groups that he supports: the unemployed, workers needing retraining, schoolchildren, anyone who wants clean air and water, the elderly, blacks, Hispanics and women. "If those are special interests," he says, "count me in. I'm proud of every one of them."

Hart last week tried to exploit another potential Mondale liability, accusing him of being overly cautious. He noted that Mondale had not spoken out against the Viet Nam War until 1969, took 18 days before saying anything about the Grenada invasion, and waited months before calling for the withdrawal of Marines from Lebanon. Picking up on a maladroit comment by Mondale's media adviser Roy Spence that Mondale "dares to be cautious," Hart declared, "The future can only be secured with a different kind of President—who dares to be bold, not cautious." Mondale readily concedes that his slowness in turning against U.S. involvement in Viet Nam "was the worst mistake of my entire career." His aides insist that caution is a good thing when the international stakes are high. They claim that Mondale's deliberation contrasts favorably with Reagan's impulsiveness. The deeper question, however, is whether Mondale would be decisive in a time of crisis. Charges Cranston: "Mondale is unlikely to offer us bold leader-

ship on the issues of war and peace."

Yet another question clouds the former Vice President's future: Can he generate a wider excitement over his candidacy? While he can rouse a hallful of supporters, Mondale is diminished by television, appearing too stiff and shrill. Reagan's presence, on the other hand, is magnified by a TV screen. Still, no other Democrat has inspired much voter emotion. "This is the most passionless campaign I've ever seen," says David Nagle, chairman of Iowa's Democratic Committee. "Nobody seems to care deeply about any of the candidates." New Hampshire Democrats seem equally bored, despite the quadrennial invasion of the candidates. Ironically, Mondale's big lead keeps enthusiasm down for him and for his rivals. Admits a downcast Glenn organizer in New Hampshire: "It's tough to get anyone excited if everyone has conceded first place."

For the other candidates, the time to generate some excitement of their own may be running out. Gerald Vento, Glenn's campaign manager, concedes that Mondale will win easily in Iowa but says Glenn could finish a strong second in New Hampshire. His man, Vento says, must do "extremely well" on Super Tuesday, March 13, when ten primaries and caucuses take place. Glenn will win in Alabama, he predicts, and must run "neck and neck" with Mondale in Georgia. Vento implies that a failure by Glenn to do so might just end his chances.

Hart and Cranston need third-place finishes in Iowa and New Hampshire to give them jumping-off points for the later primaries. Jackson hopes to run well in New Hampshire and then score an upset win in Alabama. McGovern is trying to hang on until the Super Tuesday primary in Massachusetts, where he thinks he can finish second. Askew is counting on a turnout of antiabortion voters to give him a respectable showing in Iowa, followed by a strong home-state vote in Florida three weeks later. As for Hollings, it will take a miracle to keep him in contention.

The Mondale planners are eager for a quick knockout. Says Fund Raiser Timothy Finchem: "Our concern is how soon we can put this thing away. It means a helluva lot in defeating Reagan." But not every Democrat is likely to simply bow out and join the Fritz blitz.

More than half of the delegates, moreover, would still have to be selected after mid-March, some in the larger states: California, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Some voters might resent a process in which the outcome has been determined before they have a chance to participate. Feeling disenfranchised, they might lose interest, stay home, or turn out to register protest votes that would only hurt their party's eventual nominee. An apathetic or divided party would not be in competitive trim for the race against a popular President. Walter Mondale may be riding high, but hurdles and hazards are ahead. *—By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Sam Allis with Mondale, with other bureaus*

# The Front Runner Is Striding Out

*A* TIME *poll shows more losses than gains for the other candidates*

The camps of the underdog candidates have long argued that if people only knew more about their men, Walter Mondale's lead would dwindle. Not so, according to a poll done for TIME by Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc.* Between December and February, the number of undecided Democratic and independent voters declined from 26% to 14%. Those who said they would vote for Mondale increased from 34% to 50%, while no other candidate gained more than 1 point.

Asked whether Mondale would make an "acceptable" President, 80% of Democrats said yes. Of the other candidates, only Jesse Jackson showed an impressive increase in acceptability, probably attributable to freeing Naval Aviator Robert Goodman from Syria. But half of the Democrats still find Jackson unacceptable.

For the rest, to know them is apparently to dislike them. Only 15% of Democratic voters now say they are unfamiliar with John Glenn, down from 28% in September. But the percentage of those finding Glenn acceptable stayed the same, while the percentage who found him unacceptable doubled. Most voters said no when asked if Glenn was a "dynamic and exciting candidate" or had "the kind of experience he needs to do a good job." Similarly, Democratic voters familiar with Gary Hart rose from 37% to 44% between September and February, yet his acceptability as a candidate did not increase, and his disapproval rating jumped sharply.

A majority (57%) think that Mondale has locked up the Democratic nomination. Only about one-third attribute Mondale's lead purely to personal popularity. An equal number cited his strong campaign organization and his support from party leaders and interest groups. Mondale's wide name recognition serves him well: while 74% said they were "aware" that he is a candidate, only 59% were able to name Glenn without prompting, and only 15% could name Hart.

Mondale may be trouncing his Democratic opponents, but he trails President Reagan 51% to 41% among all voters. Reagan manages to siphon off 26% of Democratic voters, and independent voters favor him over Mondale by 62% to 26%.

There is increasing evidence that the gender gap is real; the President does not draw as well among women as he does among men. While he enjoys a 68% favorable rating among men, the figure for women is 55%. Among Republicans, Reagan is just as popular with women as with men (87%), but there is a gap of 16 points (52% *vs.* 36%) between Democratic men and women. When asked their objections to Reagan, more women (53%) give his opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment than any other reason. Fear that he will lead the country into war comes second (46%).

Among the population as a whole, Reagan is riding a wave of good feeling. More people (68%) say things are going well in the country than in any other period since 1977. At the same time, however, only 36% say they have a "lot" of confidence in future prosperity. Interestingly, the percentage citing excessive Government spending as their No. 1 concern rose from 6% to 14%. The only consolation for Reagan is that voters are even less sanguine about the Democrats' ability to cut the $183.7 billion deficit. ■

**RATING THE DEMOCRATS**

| | [1] Whom would you prefer as the presidential candidate? | | | [2] Are these candidates acceptable? | | | . . . or not? | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sept.'83 | Dec.'83 | Feb.'84 | Sept. | Dec. | Feb. | Sept. | Dec. | Feb. |
| **Mondale** | 28% | 34% | 50% | 66% | 70% | 80% | 22% | 17% | 12% |
| **Glenn** | 26 | 18 | 18 | 58 | 54 | 57 | 14 | 20 | 28 |
| **Jackson** | 8 | 6 | 6 | 24 | 22 | 35 | 51 | 55 | 50 |
| **McGovern** | 5 | 6 | 3 | 42 | 43 | 43 | 39 | 36 | 43 |
| **Cranston** | 4 | 2 | 3 | 20 | 19 | 22 | 22 | 21 | 29 |
| **Hart** | 2 | 2 | 3 | 23 | 20 | 21 | 14 | 16 | 23 |
| **Askew** | 2 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 15 | 17 | 22 |
| **Hollings** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 10 | 10 | 15 | 17 | 26 |
| **Other** | 1 | 3 | — | | | | | | |
| **Not Sure** | 23 | 26 | 14 | | | | | | |

[1] Asked of Democrats and Independents
[2] Asked of Democrats only

TIME Chart

*Based on a telephone survey of 1,000 registered voters taken from Jan. 31 to Feb. 2. The potential sampling error is plus or minus 3%.

Dixon's favorite son (and daughter-in-law) got a birthday fete from 4,000 townspeople

# "There Are Great Days Ahead"

*At his alma mater, Reagan puts forth a traditional vision*

It has been more than half a century since Ronald Reagan lived in the flat, folksy precincts of north central Illinois. For the residents of his principal home town, absence has surely made the heart grow fonder. On his 73rd birthday last Monday, Reagan made his first stopover as President in Dixon (pop. 15,700). "I've never seen this town so happy," said Mayor James Dixon, a Democrat and great-great-great-grandson of Dixon's founder.

The President had a White House–catered lunch (salad, soup and pork) with First Brother Neil at one of their several boyhood homes and then flew to Eureka College, both brothers' alma mater. There, in the Reagan Physical Education Center, before virtually the entire 516-member student body, he inaugurated TIME's Distinguished Speakers Program. Twice a year, TIME will sponsor an address by one of its cover subjects at a college of his or her choice. The President began with four warmup jokes about his age ("the 34th anniversary of my 39th birthday"). In the course of 25 minutes Reagan discussed "the changes that have happened to America in the 50-odd years ... since I left this campus." He quoted five historical figures, from Novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald to Pope Pius XII, and alluded to a dozen contemporary conservatives, from Economist Milton Friedman to Philosopher Jean-Marie Benoist. He also reiterated some familiar proposals—for a line-item budget veto, a balanced-budget constitutional amendment, and tax reform so that the system can "be understood by someone other than an army of green-shaded accountants." Following are excerpts from his remarks:

What struck me when I was thinking about what I wanted to say here today [was] the ease, the unknowing grace with which my generation accepted technological and political changes that so radically transformed our world.

Can you imagine our sense of wonder when, one Sunday afternoon, down by the river in Dixon, we heard the sounds of radio for the first time? Yet it took only a few years for that sense of wonder to dissolve. By 1932, my graduation year ... the Depression years were upon us, and over those radio sets, now sitting in every parlor, came the rich, reassuring tones of Franklin Roosevelt. All of us who lived through those years can remember the drabness the Depression brought. But we remember too how people pulled together—that sense of community and shared values, that belief in American enterprise and democracy that saw us through. There seemed a certain logic to arguments that national Government should take onto itself new and sweeping prerogatives. Many of us could not see the enormous and oftentimes harmful political changes that this expanded role for the Government would bring. As I look back, the rapidity of that political change was as astonishing as the change brought by technology.

At Eureka, an alumnus speaks

In the Depression years and their aftermath, we forgot that first, founding lesson of the American Republic: that without proper restraints, Government the servant becomes quickly Government the master. I call it an American lesson, but actually it's much older: Cicero believed that the budget should be balanced, the Treasury should be refilled, the public debt should be reduced ... Yet even as the '50s and '60s went by, and more Americans shared my concern, Government grew like Topsy. In the '70s, federal spending tripled, taxes doubled and the national debt reached almost a trillion dollars ...

Throughout World War II and most of the postwar era there was still basic agreement on the moral imperative of defending freedom and the self-evident differences between totalitarian and democratic governments. But that broad consensus began to break down in the '60s and '70s. Partly in response to the Viet Nam tragedy, an era of paralyzing self-doubt ruled out just and legitimate uses of American power, even acts of self-defense.

We've changed this. We've tried to bring a new honesty and moral purposefulness to our foreign policy, to show we can be candid about the essential differences between ourselves and others while still pursuing peace initiatives with them. For us, human freedom is a first principle, not a bargaining chip ...

For most of my adult life, the intelligentsia has been entranced and enamored with the idea of state power, the notion that enough centralized authority in the hands of the right-minded people can reform mankind and usher in a brave new world. [Now, however,] the cult of the state is dying; so too the romance of the intellectual with state power is over. Indeed, the excitement and energy in the intellectual world is focused these days on the concerns of human freedom.

This counterrevolution of the intellectuals was [presaged] by one of the most vivid events of my time. It involved, coincidentally, an editor of TIME magazine, Whittaker Chambers, [the late former Communist] who in public testimony in 1948 named former high U.S. Government officials as spies ... [Later] Chambers would write that faith, not economics, is the central problem of our age, and that "the crisis of the Western world exists to the degree in which it is indifferent to God." Chambers' story represents a generation's disenchantment with statism and its return to eternal truths and fundamental values.

It is still the great civilized truths—values of family, work, neighborhood and religion—that fuel America's progress and put the spark to our enduring passion for freedom. With these values as our guides, the future can be even more breathtaking than the last 50 years, because it will hold out not only the promise of sweeping improvements in mankind's material conditions but progress in the spiritual and moral realm as well. And that's why I hope that 50 years from now, should TIME ask you for your reflections, you'll be able to recall an era exciting beyond all of your dreams. Believe me, there are great days ahead for you, for America and for the cause of human freedom. ■

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

# There's No Place Like It

When Ronald Reagan's 73rd birthday hubbub subsided last week in Dixon, Ill., the old neighborhood at the top of the hill on Hennepin Avenue tidied up to welcome the rest of the world. People will come from across oceans and states, in campers and Cadillacs, peering in the dark corners of Reagan's restored boyhood home for insight into what makes a President.

Even before the peaked and porched Queen Anne–style house was refurbished, 18,000 tourists visited the new mecca. It is one of 13 such presidential boyhood homes open to the public. Nearly 200,000 people visit Dwight Eisenhower's home each year in Abilene, Kans., and some 30,000 find Theodore Roosevelt's house on New York City's East 20th Street.

Presidents sometimes seem to resemble their houses. The great head and strong jaw of Franklin Roosevelt fitted in with his stately Hudson River mansion at Hyde Park. Lyndon Johnson, weathered and slit-eyed, sometimes looked as if he came with the clapboards of his boyhood home in Johnson City, Texas. Reagan's home seems tall and open like the man.

Presidential homes are quiet stops, far away from the clang of power. They speak volumes with their family artifacts and life patterns etched in furniture, stairways and backyards. New paint sometimes glamorizes the houses too much. The home had not been "quite so shiny" when he lived in it, Reagan confessed. In the end, the memories, evoked by a fragment of wallpaper or a warm corner in the kitchen, are the stuff of such museums.

"It looks so much smaller," Reagan said as he wandered through the rooms. When he studied the side yard where he, his brother Neil, and the O'Malley boys, Edward and George, used to play, he said to Neil: "They even shrank our football field." The President took a handful of popcorn from a bowl on the sitting-room table, just where his mother Nelle always had it popped and waiting. "No salt," he muttered. "Good," said Nancy, who tends the diet.

DIRCK HALSTEAD

The Reagan brothers at home, with Nancy

Reagan peered down the cramped basement stairs and remembered that his father Jack, a hefty fellow, had to back down to tend the coal furnace. What might OSHA think, the President wondered. In the bedroom with its pennants and simple oak dresser, Reagan drifted back 60 years. "I read a book about Indians and started to build a tepee in here," he said. "Nelle vetoed that." Reagan rubbed a hand over a huge brass ball on the bedstead in his parents' room and recalled that he had taken one from the original bed frame, put it on a broomstick and used the contraption as a baton to lead the Y.M.C.A. band.

The three Reagans lunched in the dining room, the prairie sun making bright squares on the floor through the white scrim curtains, memories tumbling forth about raising rabbits, collecting birds' eggs and filling the icebox and the wood stove.

Then the noisy presidential caravan swept on to Dixon High School for a birthday party and flew off to Eureka College for the speech on his old campus. Hennepin Avenue quieted and for the moment appeared to be the same tranquil corner of the Middle West it had been for more than a century. But that was deceptive. The avenue now is in the history books.

The O'Malley brothers, together again for the Reagan festivities, understood all that as they pondered the particular human concoction that was their boyhood companion, "Dutch" Reagan.

The O'Malleys and the Reagans had run and hidden and scuffled and laughed behind the barns and in the bushes when the world was not watching. They had slept in summer on the O'Malleys' big screened porch, and in winter piled four deep on the Flexible Flyer and coasted a mile down Peoria Avenue to the Rock River. Could it be that Presidents are made of such things? Could be.

# See the World

*Congress's megabuck travel tab*

The officially reported cost of the 357 "fact-finding" missions that Congressmen took to 85 countries last year seemed high enough: $5.9 million. But an investigation by United Press International and a Washington watchdog group, the Better Government Association, indicates the real bill was closer to $22 million. Flights on military planes and services arranged by the State Department accounted for huge hidden costs to the taxpayer.

Last August, Senators Paula Hawkins, Jake Garn and Frank Lautenberg visited the Far East. Had they flown first-class in commercial planes, their tab would have been about $30,000. Instead, they used an Air Force jet on which they could bring along spouses and assorted aides. The highflying cost: $244,013. When Congressman James Howard of New Jersey went to Ireland, he had the State Department arrange a dinner at Dublin's most expensive restaurant. The bill: $1,900. Most traveled was Congressman Robert Badham, a California Republican, who spent almost three months touring 24 countries on Air Force planes at a cost of $90,000. ■

# Stay at Home

*A blacklist with cachet*

In some circles, it was the most exclusive roster in Washington last week. Compiled by the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), it included 84 people deemed unsuitable as Government-paid public speakers abroad. Not since Richard Nixon's famous "enemies list" had so many dined out on the cachet of official disapproval.

Among the USIA 84 was Gary Hart, the only presidential contender to make the list. Also singled out were Ralph Nader, Coretta Scott King and Betty Friedan, who cheerfully remarked that "it certainly is a distinguished blacklist to be on." TV news was represented by CBS's Walter Cronkite, whose only apparent threat to Reagan is in surpassing him in on-the-air avuncularity, and ABC's David Brinkley, who pronounced himself "delighted." Print journalists included the Washington *Post's* Ben Bradlee, New York *Times* Columnist Tom Wicker, the *Atlantic's* James Fallows and TIME International Editor Karsten Prager.*

The current round of blacklist chic may be short-lived. Conceding that the practice was not appropriate for a Government agency, USIA officials said last week that they had scrapped the list. ■

*Others: Economists John Kenneth Galbraith, Paul Samuelson and Lester Thurow; Carter Administration officials Patricia Roberts Harris, James Schlesinger and Stansfield Turner; Poet Allen Ginsberg; former National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy, and CIA nemesis Philip Agee.

# Bombarding Reagan's Budget

*Wall Street takes a dive as the President's men duel over monster deficits*

Ronald Reagan's 1985 budget took a thunderous shelling last week. Day after day, jittery Wall Street investors fired sell orders, hitting stock prices with their heaviest declines since 1982. Testifying in Washington, Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker fired the single most damaging salvo by warning that the deficits envisaged in the budget pose a "clear and present danger," threatening to keep interest rates high and tip the economy into a new recession. Vote-conscious Congressmen attacked the budget from all angles. And throughout the barrage, Administration officials were hunkering down behind sandbags.

The size of the deficits is staggering. Rudolph Penner, director of the Congressional Budget Office, predicted that if policy is not changed, the flow of red ink will swell from $190 billion this year to $326 billion by 1989. Congressmen of both parties agreed that Reagan's election-year package, calling for modest spending cuts and small revenue increases achieved by closing tax loopholes, would hardly dent the deficit. Said Republican Senator John Heinz of Pennsylvania: "The President's budget is a retreat from last year's budget plan. There is not a lot of leadership." Grumbled Congressman Charles Roemer, a Louisiana Democrat: "Reagan is like a Louisiana bullfrog: all mouth, no guts."

In testimony on Capitol Hill, the President's men acknowledged that the economy was in danger. Chief Economic Adviser Martin Feldstein, known as the Administration's "Dr. Gloom," agreed with Penner's warning that the deficit could reach the $300 billion range by the end of the decade. If that happened, said Feldstein, federal borrowing would be swallowing 75% of American savings and putting powerful upward pressure on interest rates. Even Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, usually an optimist and a critic of Feldstein's dour outlook, admitted that "without proper fiscal and monetary policies, there is a possibility of our slipping back into a recession in the U.S." Unless the Federal Reserve speeds up growth of the U.S. money supply, warned Treasury Under Secretary Beryl Sprinkel, a recession could start this year.

Such talk stunned the stock market, which has been backsliding for a month. On the day of Regan's remark, the Dow Jones industrial average plunged 24.19 points, its biggest one-day drop in more than 15 months. Observed William LeFevre, a market strategist at Purcell, Graham, a New York City investment house: "Wall Street is saying this do-nothing attitude about the deficit can't go on. Investors have lost confidence in the Administration's ability to deal with its fiscal affairs." Since the Dow hit a peak of 1286.64 in early January, the market has tumbled 10% from its high; investors in the more than 5,000 stocks that make up the Wilshire Associates' equity index have become $158 billion poorer.

BEAR BACK?
Dow Jones industrials daily closings

TIME Chart by Renée Klein

The market recognizes that the deficit has left the Federal Reserve in a no-win predicament. If the Fed keeps the money supply tight, interest rates will rise as the economy expands and the credit needs of private business collide with heavy Government borrowing. But if the Reserve Board lets the money supply grow fast enough to accommodate the deficit, inflation will probably be rekindled. Volcker has pledged that he will not give up the progress against inflation that the U.S. achieved at the cost of a deep recession. Because of his tough monetary stance and the economic downturn it generated, the increase in the Consumer Price Index dropped from 12.4% in 1980 to 3.8% last year, the lowest level since 1972. But inflation concerns stirred a bit last week when the Government reported a .6% increase in wholesale prices in January, the sharpest rise in 14 months.

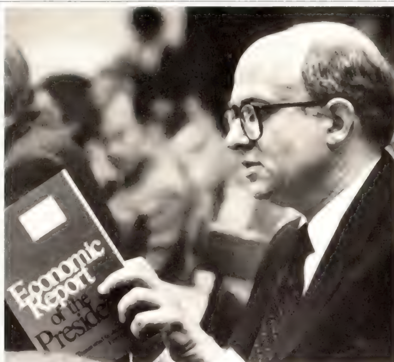
The answer to the deficit problem, said Volcker, "is not easier money." The Reserve Board announced that its monetary targets will be slightly stricter this year than in 1983. Its goal for M1, the basic money supply, which includes mainly currency in circulation and checking accounts, will be 4% to 8%, down from 5% to 9% last year. Said David Jones, chief economist of Wall Street's Aubrey G. Lanston investment firm: "The Fed has thrown down the gauntlet to the Administration, saying, 'We will not monetize the deficit even if this is an election year.'" Volcker's resolve has dashed Wall Street's hopes that interest rates will soon fall.

The stock market's most recent dip started two weeks ago and was triggered in part by the open warfare within the Administration over what to do about the budget. Regan advised members of the Senate Budget Committee to "throw away" the Economic Report of

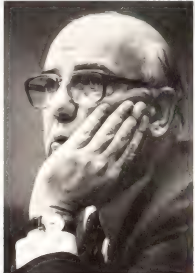
the President, prepared chiefly by Feldstein. The Treasury Secretary was upset about Feldstein's dark view of the deficit and his calls for a tax increase, a step that Regan and President Reagan oppose. A report of Regan's "throw away" comment went over the Dow Jones News Service wire at about 11 a.m. At the time, the Dow Jones industrial average was up 8.17 points. By the 4 p.m. closing bell, the average had sunk 25.02 points, to finish the day down 16.85.

But the Administration's shenanigans had barely begun. White House Chief of Staff James Baker privately berated Feldstein and ordered him to cancel a scheduled appearance over the weekend on ABC's *This Week with David Brinkley*. The Treasury Secretary denied reports that he had demanded Feldstein be fired, but, Regan admitted, "I urged that differences between us be kept quiet."

Regan, an ex-chairman of the Merrill Lynch investment firm who has bragged of his "35 years of experience in the market," derides Feldstein, who is on leave from Harvard, for being a professor who spent too much time in the library. Last week, after scared stock sellers sided with the prof, Regan tried to dismiss the shakeout as a "natural correction that temporarily interrupts a bull-market upswing."



**Martin Feldstein reads his report, but Treasury Secretary Donald Regan said to "throw it away"**


**Volcker's recession talk shocked the market**

*Warnings of a "clear and present danger."*

Before the week was over, Regan and Feldstein had managed to patch together a façade of harmony. At a House Appropriations Committee hearing, they sat side by side and contradicted each other on only a point or two. Later, at the end of a Senate session, Democrat William Proxmire of Wisconsin asked Regan why he had said that Feldstein's economic report should be thrown away. "Sorry, Senator," said Regan, "that was last week." The meeting adjourned amid chuckles.

The public truce, though, did little to mask sharp differences between Regan and Feldstein or to ease fears that the Administration's economic policy is awry. Regan's ideas are very close to the President's original supply-side strategy, which was based on a strong reliance on the stimulative power of tax cuts. Regan believes that the growth generated by the President's tax-reduction program will boost Government revenues and take care of part of the deficit. To reduce the budget gap further, Regan argues, Congress must concentrate on slashing spending. He believes a tax hike would stifle growth and wind up enlarging the deficit.

Feldstein, a mainstream conservative economist who never accepted the most radical claims of the supply-side doctrine, joined the Administration in 1982. He was brought on board to re-establish credibility after the Administration's early predictions of supply-side prosperity and balanced budgets went wildly wrong. Philosophically, Feldstein agrees with Reagan and Regan that the spending side of the ledger is the place to reduce the budget deficit. But Feldstein maintains that if spending cannot be cut sufficiently because of defense needs or the growth of social programs, then taxes must be raised. Along with his Administration ally, Budget Director David Stockman, Feldstein urged the President to include a tax hike in the budget, but Regan's no-tax stance won out in the White House debate. Neither the President nor his political advisers wanted to propose tax increases in an election year.

In his testimony before Congress last week, Volcker backed Feldstein's approach to attacking the deficit. Said the Federal Reserve chairman: "If you cannot do it on the spending side, you have got to do it on the revenue side." Volcker said that the economy could absorb a tax increase of about $35 billion without danger to the recovery.

A close look at the 1985 budget figures reveals how fruitless the President's efforts to cut Government spending have been. Reagan's reductions in social programs will produce 1985 savings of only $59 billion. By comparison, the budget shows that between 1981, Reagan's first year in office, and 1985, defense spending will rise $114.5 billion and interest on the national debt will increase $47.4 billion, largely because of the deficit.

Administration officials privately concede they will eventually have to compromise with Congress and accept a tax increase, but they fault Feldstein for admitting it publicly. Says a top policymaker: "As a negotiator, Feldstein's a zero. If you want a compromise, you start by insisting on your position and expect the other side to voice its position. But Feldstein lays all our cards on the table face up before the game even starts."

The game got under way last week as a bipartisan group of congressional leaders accepted an invitation to meet with Administration officials and start negotiations to fashion a $100 billion "down payment" deficit-reduction plan. Expectations for quick success were not high, partly because Reagan was far from the fray, at his California ranch. Complained Democratic Senator Donald Riegle of Michigan: "Here they are meeting, and the President is out of town on vacation. Unless he becomes more actively in-

volved in the discussions, there will be a growing perception that the whole effort is not real."

The negotiations began with a two-hour session at Blair House, the elegant building across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House. The Administration's team included Regan, Stockman and Baker. On the congressional side, two Reaganite stalwarts, Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada and Congressman Trent Lott of Mississippi, represented the Republicans. The Democrats were House Majority Leader James Wright of Texas and Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii.

The Administration offered a $90 billion proposal divided about equally between spending cuts and revenue-raising tax reforms. Expenditure reductions included rollbacks in farm aid, lower Government-employee pay raises and other items already requested in Reagan's new budget. In addition, the proposal listed $25 billion in unspecified savings from cutting Government waste. The Administration's tax proposals were neither far-reaching nor original. They were mostly loophole closings that had already been passed by the House Ways and Means Committee, only to die in the waning days of Congress's last session.

Wright countered with a plan calling for a stretch-out, from five to six years, of most military procurement programs. That, said Wright, would save $100 billion in one grand sweep. He dismissed the White House proposals as a "shopping list of little things that is a waste of time." Wright's stretch-out plan was a politically sly move because it was originally put forward in 1982 by a leading Republican, former President Gerald Ford.

Neither group made any commitments, and no date was set for new talks. All the players were afraid of championing any deficit-cutting steps that might conceivably prove to be political liabilities in the coming campaign. The only thing agreed upon was that Social Security, the biggest nondefense budget item, was off limits. Observed Democratic Congressman Leon Panetta of California: "There's a helluva lot of political paranoia that's in the way of getting something done."

So far, Republicans and Democrats are both resorting to wait-till-next-year tactics. But if the stock market keeps plunging, interest rates start rising, inflation ticks up some more and the economy begins weakening, the President and Congress may have to try another approach. —*By Charles P. Alexander. Reported by Bernard Baumohl and David Beckwith/Washington*

# Main Street Is Worried Too

While the White House feuds and Wall Street frets about runaway federal deficits, Main Street is deeply concerned too. The issue has become the most visible and powerful symbol of the general public's fears about the outlook for the U.S. economy.

That was the main finding of a new poll conducted for TIME by Yankelovich, Skelly & White. The survey of 1,000 registered voters, taken from Jan. 31 to Feb. 2, found that nearly 90% view the deficits as a serious economic problem. Even more, 95%, consider Congress to be responsible for the present and projected budget gaps, while 87% blame President Reagan.

When respondents were asked what should be done about the deficits, only a fraction favored cutting social spending. The majority said that they would prefer to see a decrease in military outlays. In addition, they rejected an increase in personal income taxes as a means of reducing the shortfall. By far the most popular revenue-raising measure was a higher tobacco tax.

Those questioned were surprisingly unimpressed by the drop in inflation, which tumbled from 12.4% in 1980 to 3.8% last year. A stunning 44% of the respondents were unaware that inflation had gone down. Only 20% thought that the end of spiraling prices had affected them a lot. Slightly more than one-third, by contrast, said the break in inflation had not affected them at all. When asked to pick reasons for inflation's decline, two-thirds cited the drop in oil prices as a cause. Some 59% mentioned the recession and high unemployment, while 54% saw President Reagan's economic policies as a factor.

The survey also found that most Americans still consider joblessness, which has fallen from 10.7% to 8% in the past 15 months, a major concern. As many as 75% of those polled said that they regard unemployment as a key voting issue. Still more, 80%, expect the level of inflation to influence their vote. One out of every two respondents said inflation would be at its present level at the end of 1984. And while 28% look for a higher year-end rate, only 19% thought that the level would drop.

Many of those polled remain convinced that business occupies an unduly privileged position in American society. More than half said that companies do not pay enough taxes, while seven out of ten thought that corporate managers were overpaid. A sizable majority favored raising business taxes in order to close the budget gap.

*To reduce the size of the deficit, are you willing to see the Government . . .*

| | Willing | Not Willing |
|---|---|---|
| Raise taxes on tobacco? | 77% | 18% |
| Raise taxes on business and corporations? | 63% | 31% |
| Spend less on defense? | 54% | 37% |
| Raise taxes on oil and gasoline? | 38% | 56% |
| Spend less on entitlement programs like Social Security? | 24% | 68% |
| Spend less on social programs for the poor and the elderly? | 22% | 74% |
| Raise personal income taxes? | 22% | 72% |

The survey showed that much of the public was scarred by the 1981-82 recession and remains wary about the outlook for the future. Fully 50% of those questioned reported no improvement in their standard of living over the past year. Moreover, people's expectations about how they will fare in the coming months have barely improved since the depth of the slump in December 1982. Some 50% saw better days ahead for themselves when questioned then, compared with 52% today.

The public is clearly concerned about the future of the economy. Yankelovich found that 52% believe the recovery that got under way just over a year ago will prove to be temporary. Only 40%, on the other hand, said they expect the economic improvement to last.

# If You Spend An Evening Playing Cards At Your Neighbor's, Burglars Will Think You Have A Full House.

©Illinois Bell, 1983

**Introducing Call Forwarding.** When you go out, you can take your calls with you. Thanks to Call Forwarding* from Illinois Bell. It lets you forward your calls just about anywhere. So you never have to miss a call or worry about someone knowing you're not home.

You just dial a simple code and the number where you can be reached. Your calls will be forwarded automatically.

To get Call Forwarding in your home, call Illinois Bell at **1 800 535-6000.** Then when you leave your house, you can let your phone mind it for you.

*Available in many areas.

SERVING CHICAGO WITH DISTINCTION
FOR THIRTY-FIVE YEARS

WMAQ-TV

AN NBC OWNED TELEVISION STATION

Pinch®.

A Glorious Beginning

Extraordinary...12 year old Scotch.

©1983 RENFIELD IMPORTERS, LTD. NY, NY

COLOR
TWO TH

T R A K
TO EACH HIS OWN.
INTRODUCING RCA'S HIGH-PERFORMANCE COLLECTION FOR 1984. The ColorTrak 2000 collection for 1984 includes a style that's just your style, no matter how discriminating you may be.
Each set combines RCA's most advanced video technology with cabinet designs that make them beautiful to look at. On or off.
Standard features include 127-channel tuning and enhanced stereo-like sound. Many models are also video monitors featuring simple hookup systems for VCR, VideoDisc Player, and stereo components.
Most sets also come with RCA's Digital Command Center. The total control remote control that operates RCA's most advanced VCR's and VideoDisc Players.
For more information and a free copy of "LIVING WITH VIDEO" (a $2.50 retail value), write: RCA Consumer Electronics, Dept. 32-312 Q, Indianapolis, Indiana 46206.
WE'LL OPEN YOUR EYES.
RCA
O U S A N D

# *The Spirit of America*

*Mabry Mill, Virginia by Clyde H. Smith*

*Where the woodland farmer flourished, the miller was not far behind. Independent and enterprising, he signalled the coming of trade and prosperity. And looking to the future, he relaxed at day's end with America's native whiskey: Kentucky Bourbon. Old Grand-Dad still makes that Bourbon much as we did 100 years ago. It's the spirit of America.*

*For a 19" x 26" print of Mabry Mill, send a check or money order for $4.95 to Spirit of America offer, P.O. Box 183V, Carle Place, N.Y. 11514.*

*Old Grand-Dad*

Kentucky Straight Bourbon Whiskey 86 Proof Old Grand Dad Distillery Co., Frankfort, Ky. ©1983 National Distillers

ROBIN MOYER

Car gazers inspect the shiny 1984 models at the General Motors showroom in New York City

# The Good Times Return to Detroit

*General Motors leads automakers back onto the road to profits*

Up. That word has not been used around Detroit much since 1978, at least not when the subject was profits. Recession, imports, high interest rates and public disenchantment have battered U.S. automakers and their products. But better times have finally arrived—and in a very big way. General Motors, the world's largest carmaker, last week reported profits of $3.7 billion for 1983, almost four times the 1982 total. Ford and Chrysler will also report handsome earnings. When all the tallying is done, Detroit's Big Three will show profits of about $6.4 billion for last year, *vs.* losses of $4 billion in 1980 and $1.2 billion in 1981, and a slight profit of $475 million in 1982. Only American Motors lost money in 1983, about $144 million.

The performances are giving Wall Street auto watchers something to shout about. "Super! Great! Beautiful! A hell of a job!" bubbled Michael Ward of New York City's Jesup & Lamont Securities. The excitement was not over just the amount of profits but also how they were achieved: more efficient production with more automation, higher prices, lower costs, sharply reduced blue- and white-collar work forces. GM's earnings last year, for example, were about the same as in 1978, but with 1.7 million fewer vehicle sales.

GM was not ballyhooing its profits, because company negotiators are scheduled to sit down with United Auto Workers' officials this summer to negotiate a new contract. Increased profit sharing is expected to be an important U.A.W. demand. Under a 1982 agreement, the auto workers gave major wage concessions to GM and got back, in part, a profit-sharing program that will give $322 million to employees out of 1983 earnings. That comes to an average of $640 for each eligible worker.

GM's people made out better than most in the industry's turnaround. Chrysler, with its U.S. Government-guaranteed loans paid back ahead of time and sales zooming, will resume paying dividends on its common stock in April, the first such payout in five years. As part of the Washington bailout, Chrysler workers were given stock in return for wage concessions. Since the average worker now owns 159 shares, the 15¢-a-share dividend will mean about $24 each for 68,000 Chrysler employees. Chairman Lee A. Iacocca, with as many as 565,000 shares, will be a particularly big winner: an estimated $85,000 in dividends.

Other middle and top managers in Detroit are gaining handsomely. Some 5,800 GM executives will divide a bonus pool of $180 million, an average of $31,000 apiece. It will be the first GM bonus since 1979. Chairman Roger Smith's should bring his total compensation for the year to more than $1 million.

While Detroit liked 1983, this year should be even better. Sales in January, usually slowed by bad weather, were up 41% from a year ago. That pushed the sales rate on an annual basis to 10.25 million vehicles, and auto executives are saying that 1984 sales of 10.5 million cars are possible. Last October they forecast sales of only 10 million. Indeed, Detroit's carmakers could earn as much as $9 billion this year. Even AMC is anticipating that it will make money. Said GM's Smith: "Our recovery could be even stronger than we've predicted. We're on a roll in America, and it's up to us in the auto industry to keep it going." ■

# Costly Caper

*Climax to a $270 million scam*

One of the most complex cases of fraud ever to hit the arcane world of high finance is ending. Two men last week pleaded guilty to stealing $270 million from New York's Chase Manhattan Bank. Joseph V. Ossorio, 43, and David J. Heuwetter, 42, face prison sentences of up to 18 and seven years, respectively, for their roles in the Drysdale Government Securities scam.

The deception by the two men showed how vulnerable the financial system is to artful chicanery. Drysdale Government Securities, officially started in February 1982, was a spin-off of Drysdale Securities, a 92-year-old Wall Street brokerage house. It was created solely to deal in such U.S. Government securities as bonds, notes and bills, currently a $1 trillion market. Using only 20 or 30 traders who operated out of a fifth-floor room above a Wall Street-area clothing shop, Drysdale quickly managed to amass a $4 billion-plus portfolio of borrowed U.S. Treasury securities.

But the company was built on a series of misrepresentations. At the time Drysdale went into business, it claimed to have $20.8 million in capital when, in fact, it had liabilities of more than $190 million, in part from interest payments owed to owners of bonds. Yet on that false basis, it did business with the financial community, including several big banks. The firm used money from borrowed bonds to generate capital. It would sell the bonds at prices that were high because of several months of accumulated interest. The money from the sale would be greater than what Drysdale had paid for bonds put up as collateral. It would pocket some of the difference, using the money to cover expenses instead of paying interest obligations.

High interest rates, though, helped derail the whole tactic. They drove bond prices down just when Drysdale was counting on them to go up. The ploy was exposed in May 1982, when Drysdale defaulted on $160 million in charges it owed Chase Manhattan. Ultimately the bank lost a total of $270 million in trading expenses and interest payments. During the summer of 1982 Drysdale's parent company went out of business, and Chase Manhattan took over the portfolio of Drysdale Government Securities.

Ossorio, who was chairman of the parent Drysdale firm, steadfastly maintained his innocence, saying last week that he was entering a guilty plea only to avoid "prolonged and expensive" litigation. Said he: "I voluntarily plead guilty even though I do not believe I am guilty." Co-Defendant Heuwetter, the owner of Drysdale Government Securities, said that the charge against him was "substantially" true. Said he: "I had hoped that I could make up the losses." ■

Giant step for a human satellite: Astronaut McCandless ventures into the blackness of space while hurtling over blue-and-white earth

NASA

# Orbiting with Flash and Buck

*A historic touchdown ends* Challenger's *bittersweet journey*

Splendidly white in the morning sun, it looked like a great migratory bird returning to its winter haunts. Indeed, as *Challenger* appeared out of the blue Florida skies at week's end, it was truly coming home. Touching gently down on the Kennedy Space Center's long concrete runway, within sight of the towering gantry where it had taken off on its 3 million-mile odyssey eight days earlier, the winged ship became the first spacecraft of any nation to end its celestial wanderings where they had begun. From Mission Control, half a continent away, came heartfelt congratulations: "Welcome home. That was a fantastic job."

The breathtaking landing, amid Florida's marshes and palmettos rather than the baked sands of California's Mojave Desert, was a stunning finale to a flight that was, at best, bittersweet: a dazzling display of the space shuttle's tremendous potential and yet a dismal reminder of the continuing frailty of technology in challenging the cosmos. The troubles ranged from the disastrous loss of two highly sophisticated communications satellites, valued in excess of $150 million, to a rash of lesser mishaps: a clogged toilet, the mysterious blowup of a ballyhooed navigational experiment, and a sudden case of the cramps in the shuttle's Canadian-built mechanical arm.

Yet all that was overshadowed by an awesome triumph of the tenth shuttle flight: a show-stopping space walk, a celestial trapeze act 175 miles above the ground. For just over five hours last week, the ghostly white silhouettes of two astronauts, framed by the blackness of the heavens, twisted and turned, chugged up and down, slipped sideways, even wheeled and somersaulted. Hurtling through space at orbital velocities of more than 17,000 m.p.h., the speed of the shuttle, the two free floaters became the first human satellites of the earth. Never before had astronauts or cosmonauts, in dozens of space walks, ventured forth without a lifeline. Only a remarkable jet-powered backpack, which looked like castoff hardware from a science-fiction film, kept the walkers from drifting off into the cosmos. As Shuttle Commander Vance Brand, 52, put it, "They call each other Flash Gordon and Buck Rogers."

These daredevil exercises were a rehearsal for *Challenger's* April voyage, when its crew will try to recover and repair a $150 million scientific satellite called Solar Max (for Solar Maximum Mission), which was launched in February 1980, at the approaching peak of the solar cycle, to gather information on the effects of the sun's activities on the earth. The robot observatory has been crippled for the past three years because of a minor electrical problem. Flying to the satellite with his manned maneuvering unit (MMU), an astronaut will attach himself to the ailing bird. Then he will use the force of the MMU's jets to arrest the satellite's slow spin so that it can be grappled aboard the shuttle by the remote-controlled arm. The satellite will be overhauled inside the shuttle's cargo bay. If this first aid succeeds, Solar Max will go back out on orbital patrol and provide convincing evidence of a favorite NASA theme: that humans will be as important as robots in taking advantage of the growing scientific and industrial opportunities in space.

Although the playful antics of the astronauts on television were greeted with praise and rapt attention throughout most of the world, the reaction to the flight from the other major space power was as sour as borsch. Soviet TV noted only that failures were continuing to plague the *Challenger* on "a routine mission." For three days, not a word was uttered about the historic space walks, although an old canard was repeated: that the shuttle had been built for sinister military purposes. In a display of competition, Moscow announced last week

that three cosmonauts had been sent off to reoccupy Salyut 7, the Soviet semipermanent space station. The cosmonauts successfully docked with Salyut 7 and settled in for what may be an attempt to eclipse the 211-day orbital endurance record set by the Soviets in 1982. With their three-man launch, the Soviets inadvertently joined with the Americans in establishing another mark. For almost four days last week, eight humans were circling the planet, two more than ever before.

The U.S. space walks, photographed by a handful of color TV cameras, including one perched on the MMU, began on the fifth day of *Challenger's* flight. Appropriately it was Mission Specialist Bruce McCandless II, 46, a Navy captain, who got first crack at the $15 million backpack. While waiting 18 years to make his first flight, he has been working closely with the MMU's designers to perfect the complex machine, which looks like a seatless chair and can be steered by controls in its armrests. Each of these controls activates one or more of 24 jets that expel puffs of nitrogen gas. When McCandless fired jets on one side of the MMU, they provided a textbook example of Newton's third law ("For every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction"): the astronaut was propelled the other way.

McCandless started cautiously on the epic walk, slowly moving beyond the edge of the cargo bay at a sluggish .2 m.p.h.* But as he ventured deeper into the forbidding abyss of space, whatever apprehension he may have felt—NASA no longer talks publicly about astronaut heartbeats—seemed to vanish. "Hey, this is neat!" McCandless shouted, and then followed with a verbal bow to Neil Armstrong's famous comment when that astronaut first set foot on the moon: "That may have been one small step for Neil, but it's a heck of a big leap for me."

As the distance widened between *Challenger* and the stiff, toylike figure, McCandless bubbled with superlatives. "Beautiful," "Super," "Superb," he kept telling mission controllers in Houston, adding, as if they did not already know, "We sure have a nice flying machine here." The excursion began while the shuttle was still in the earth's shadow and ended 90 minutes later, about the time it takes the shuttle to make one pass around the earth. Slowing down in front of *Challenger's* windshield, McCandless asked: "Hey, you going to want the windows washed or anything while I'm out here?" Skipper Brand snapped back with mock military brusqueness: "No, we want you to get out and back before sunset though."

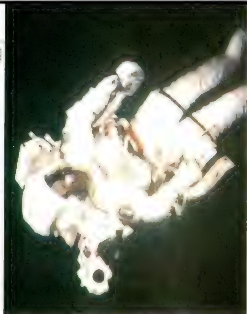
Safely back in the cargo bay, McCandless turned over his Buck Rogers contraption to Lieut. Colonel Robert Stewart, 41, the first Army man to journey into space. (Of the two MMUs aboard *Challenger*, one was always kept in readiness as a spare.) Urged McCandless: "Enjoy it. Have a ball." The hot-rodding Stewart, a former helicopter pilot, took that advice. When he throttled up to a radar-timed speed of .7 m.p.h., Brand warned him to slow down.

*Relative only to the shuttle, however. He was zooming around the earth at orbital speeds

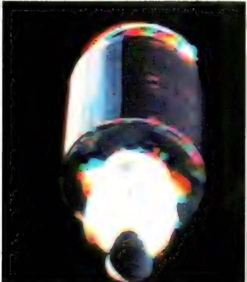
Like any test pilots, the astronauts gave their flying chair a thorough checkout; McCandless reported that his only real surprise was that the MMU shook and rattled when he turned on the forward-motion jets. The space walkers also retrieved a faulty camera from the aft end of the cargo bay, engaged in a brief and successful tryout of the shuttle's sinewy, 50-ft.-long arm, readjusted a scientific instrument on the big West German–made movable platform called the Shuttle Pallet Satellite (SPAS) and tested some of the tools created for April's satellite retrieval.

There was one hitch: Stewart had trouble fitting his bulky boots into foot restraints temporarily attached to the remote-control arm. These are designed to give the astronauts leverage while they work in the weightless environment. At one point, the frustrated McCandless voiced an earthy expletive. On the ground, at the close of that busy series of activities, relieved Flight Director John Cox told reporters at the Johnson Space Center: "It was a super day. We did all the things we had planned to."

In their second space walks two days later, the astronauts were scheduled to enact a dry run of one key part of April's mission: halting Solar Max's spin. But the gremlins that had been so disastrous earlier in the flight struck once more. The astronauts discovered that the shuttle's trusty triple-jointed arm had mysteriously developed a machine's equivalent of arthritis. It could not adequately move its "wrist." The problem effectively scuttled the plan to lift SPAS out of the cargo bay and rotate it slowly in space at the end of


**McCandless takes his MMU out for a spin**

**With the cranky Canadian-built arm to his left, McCandless works in shuttle's cargo bay**


**Indonesia's Palapa satellite, atop its faulty, ball-shaped booster, spins off into space**

the arm. While SPAS simulated Solar Max's spin, McCandless was supposed to attach himself to it with a specially designed pin. Unable to cure the arm's ailment, however, the astronauts could do no more than practice the maneuver on a nonrotating satellite. When McCandless gunned the jets on his MMU, the pin held firmly in place, and a pleased Mission Control insisted that the test demonstrated the feasibility of capturing Solar Max and stopping its rotation.

Earlier the controllers had sounded similarly reassuring after another preparatory exercise for April's satellite rescue had flopped. That was when a big Mylar balloon released by the shuttle apparently expanded while still in its canister and burst. The shuttle had been scheduled to chase the balloon from distances up to 120 miles as training for finding Solar Max. At week's end, there was still no explanation of why that $400,000 experiment had misfired.

Two other foul-ups ended more satisfactorily. Left untethered in the cargo bay, a foot restraint was accidentally jogged and began floating away in space. "We can go get it," McCandless volunteered. But Commander Brand, exercising caution, immediately replied: "No, no, no, no." Instead, he maneuvered the shuttle toward the fleeing bit of hardware until McCandless could reach out and snare it. The balletic catch brought applause from the Houston controllers. McCandless was pleased too. Improvising on a slogan of an earlier shuttle crew, he joked, "We deliver, but we pick up also."

Meanwhile, inside the shuttle, Navy Commander Robert Gibson, 37, the copilot, drew a less enviable assignment: he had to free a jammed waste-clearing fan in the shuttle's balky $1.2 million toilet. This high-tech chamber pot, designed to work in the absence of gravity, has broken down repeatedly during shuttle flights. To the crew's relief, Gibson's plumbing skills eventually got the facility working.

Before the two space walkers could rejoin their buddies inside the cabin, all activities were stopped for what has become a shuttle tradition: a presidential telephone call. Speaking from his California ranch, Ronald Reagan praised the men for their courage and inspiration. McCandless, asked by the President to explain the significance of his and Stewart's activities, replied grandiloquently. Said he: "We're literally opening a new frontier in what man can do in space, and we'll be paving the way for many important operations on the coming space stations." Reagan had formally endorsed the idea of such a program in last month's State of the Union address.

Successful as the maneuvers outside the ship may have been, they could not entirely erase the gloom cast over the mission by the loss of two sophisticated communications satellites. At week's end, NASA still could not explain why Western Union's Westar VI and Indonesia's Palapa-B2 had failed to achieve orbit, except to say that their rocket motors had apparently shut down prematurely before completing their scheduled 85-sec. "burns." The prime suspects are the bell-shaped nozzles from which the boosters' flaming gases are expelled. McDonnell Douglas, builder of the rockets, is assembling a board of inquiry to look into the twin failures, which left the satellites far short of their intended orbits 22,300 miles above the earth, yet now beyond the reach of the shuttle for a possible rescue.

Mission controllers exonerated the shuttle crew from any responsibility in the calamitous satellite losses. Under the direction of Physicist Ronald McNair, 33, both satellites were spun perfectly out of *Challenger's* cargo bay. Even so, there could be serious repercussions for NASA and the U.S. aerospace community. Unless the problem with the little boosters, called PAMs (for payload-assist modules), is resolved soon, some upcoming lift-offs may have to be postponed. PAMs are scheduled to be used for satellite launches in May as the upper stage of a conventional Delta rocket and in June during the maiden voyage of the third shuttle, *Discovery*. Insurance brokers are now warning of rising premiums, if such policies remain available, for future satellite launches. The loss of Westar and Palapa will cost underwriters $180 million. Also NASA could lose business if concern about the reliability of American rocketry encourages customers to turn to Europe's competing Ariane booster. Western Union, however, did appear steadfast. Said a company spokesman: "Yes, we shall use the shuttle again."

Following *Challenger's* spectacular homecoming, NASA too showed renewed faith in its machine. At week's end, it announced that the shuttle would take off again on April 4, in a record turnaround time of only 53 days. —***By Frederic Golden. Reported by Jerry Hannifin/Kennedy Space Center and David S. Jackson/Houston***

**Homecoming: sweeping past rescue vehicles, *Challenger* glides to a perfect Florida landing**

# Buick Century. Technology that makes you feel good inside.

In creating the Buick Century, it seems that we created something of a paradox.

With its sleek aerodynamics, advanced front-wheel-drive technology and computer-selected springs, the Century is a very nimble road car indeed.

But because it's a Buick, the Century is one road car that won't let the feel of the road interfere with your personal comfort and tranquility.

For an automobile that offers both driving pleasure and riding pleasure, visit your Buick dealer and buckle yourself into the Century.

It will make you feel very comfortable with today's technology.

**Wouldn't you really rather have a Buick?**

# AT&T IS REA
# IN NEW DI

It's a new world, full of promise and potential. And into it steps the new AT&T. A company uniquely equipped to reach out, take hold of the future and deliver its benefits to you.

As the new AT&T, we're building on our 107-year heritage of innovation, quality and customer service.

Now we're free from many of the restrictions that bound us in the past. We're free to compete and eager to. Not just in America, but around the world.

Now when Bell Laboratories creates new technology for devices as revolutionary as the transistor, or the laser, or solar cell, we can follow the potential applications wherever they lead.

With more than a century of manufacturing expertise, we will transform that technology into reliable, state-of-the-art products and systems. Just as we did when we became the first in the world to mass-produce the 256K memory chip.

Beyond microelectronics, we will continue to be the leading source of new knowledge in other tech-

# CHING OUT RECTIONS.

nologies vital to tomorrow's information systems and services—including photonics, digital systems and software.

We'll use that technology to improve the efficiency of your business, with a complete line of communications and information management systems.

We'll also improve the quality of your life. With computer-like phones for your home that can perform a host of functions. And with the AT&T long distance network. It's the only network that can handle 23 million calls a day. Carrying voice, video, data, even sensory information, it is at your service any time, anywhere.

No company in America has a stronger commitment to customer satisfaction than the new AT&T. From the scientists and engineers who develop our reliable products and systems to the marketing and service people who help our customers get the most from our technology, we work for you. Just as we always have. Our century-old spirit of service is our competitive edge.

Tomorrow has come suddenly, but it hasn't taken us by surprise. We've been preparing for it for 107 years.

© 1984 R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO.

# A message from those who don't to those who do.

We're uncomfortable.

To us, the smoke from your cigarettes can be anything from a minor nuisance to a real annoyance.

We're frustrated.

Even though we've chosen not to smoke, we're exposed to second-hand smoke anyway.

We feel a little powerless.

Because you can invade our privacy without even trying. Often without noticing.

And sometimes when we speak up and let you know how we feel, you react as though *we* were the bad guys.

We're not fanatics. We're not out to deprive you of something you enjoy. We don't want to be your enemies.

We just wish you'd be more considerate and responsible about how, when, and where you smoke.

We know you've got rights and feelings. We just want you to respect our rights and feelings, as well.

# A message from those who do to those who don't.

We're on the spot.

Smoking is something we consider to be a very personal choice, yet it's become a very public issue.

We're confused.

Smoking is something that gives us enjoyment, but it gives you offense.

We feel singled out.

We're doing something perfectly legal, yet we're often segregated, discriminated against, even legislated against.

Total strangers feel free to abuse us verbally in public without warning.

We're not criminals. We don't mean to bother or offend you. And we don't like confrontations with you.

We're just doing something we enjoy, and trying to understand your concerns.

We know you've got rights and feelings. We just want you to respect our rights and feelings, as well.

*Brought to you in the interest of common courtesy by*

R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company

# People

Slouching toward maturity: Lane in *Streets of Fire*

The hottest ticket in Manhattan last week was printed on a white glove, but for most of the 1,500 guests who showed up for **Michael Jackson's** *Thriller* party at the American Museum of Natural History, it was strictly a hands-off evening. Almost no one got within hailing distance of the carefully shielded host, who sported a discreet hairpiece in his first public appearance since he was hospitalized last month for scalp burns suffered while filming a TV commercial. After accepting awards from CBS Records and the *Guinness Book of World Records*, which certified his *Thriller* as the biggest solo album ever (25 million copies sold), Jackson, 25, made a quick exit to a small, private reception in the Elephant Room of the museum. There he mingled with such privileged well-wishers as **Sean Lennon, Carly Simon** and **Brooke Shields**. Why throw the monster bash at an institution where the furs are usually stuffed? Explained a CBS spokesman: "Michael has a love of nature—and it's big."

Jackson: monstrous success

■

She arrived in Albany on a train called the *Landmark Express*. The reason that **Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis** made her much ballyhooed visit to the New York State capital last week was to lobby, along with dozens of others, for landmark-protection status for places of worship. Onassis, 54, has a particular interest in seeing that St. Bartholomew's Church in Manhattan does not permit construction of a 59-story office building on part of its landmark site. In Albany, Onassis met with legislators and Governor **Mario Cuomo,** 51. The high point of the trip was the plea that she made before a jam-packed legislature. "The future of New York City is bleak if the landmarks that mean so much to us and our children are stripped of their landmark status," she said. "If you cut people off from what nourishes them spiritually and historically, something within them dies."

■

After 13 movies in five years in which she played a succession of teeny-boppers, **Diane Lane,** 19, has graduated. For her next role in *Streets of Fire*, a film that is being billed as a "rock-'n'-roll fantasy," Lane portrays an adult singer who is kidnaped by a gang of biker-thugs. "Hormones have happened," explains Lane. "I'm past the growing-up stage." In Lane's most recent movie, *Rumble Fish*, she was saddled with the unbecoming part of a wayward outsider, a tough adolescent in tarty makeup. Says she: "I can't tell you how happy I am to be in a movie where even my lip gloss is accepted."

■

Former President **Gerald Ford,** 70, whose life seems to be dogged by minor mishaps, has a knack for turning even the genteel game of golf into a hazardous sport. At the Bing Crosby National Pro-Am tournament in Pebble Beach, Calif., all was going well for Ford and his partner, **Jack Nicklaus,** 44, until they reached the 15th tee.

Jackie O. testifying in Albany

There, Ford hooked a shot that traveled 90 yards and bopped a woman spectator squarely on the head. The unlucky lady was knocked down, and Ford's round was delayed for 30 minutes as medics administered sympathy and stitches. Ford's score ballooned after the incident. "It bothered him a great deal," explained a spokesman. "His game got significantly worse."

Ford: tee and sympathy

■

Her electric performance as Gladys in *Pajama Game* produced her first big break on Broadway 30 years ago, but **Shirley MacLaine,** 49, gave up her theater career when Hollywood beckoned. This April, however, she will make a rare appearance on the boards when she returns to her song-and-dance roots in a five-week stint at Manhattan's Gershwin Theater. The pocket-size review will feature four back-up dancers and an original score by **Marvin Hamlisch** (*A Chorus Line, They're Playing Our Song*). Says MacLaine: "I'll keep dancing and singing until my legs get as low as my notes." The fiery actress is currently basking in critical and popular praise for her portrayal of Aurora, the feisty Texas mother in *Terms of Endearment*, a role that is expected to win her an Oscar nomination. "I figure that I've put a lot into my life," MacLaine says. "Now I'm getting some of it back." —*By Guy D. Garcia*

MacLaine: back on the boards

# Snows, and Glows, of Sarajevo

*Mountain storms delayed skiing events, but off the slopes, the Games went on*

*"We are Communists. We have finished our part of the work. The rest is in the hands of God."*
—Olympic spokesman in November

As acts of God go, the Olympic blizzard went too far. So devoutly wished for in the sultry days leading up to this winter carnival, the snows of Sarajevo finally fell by the ton. As a result, the first few days of the Games rivaled the man-made chaos of Lake Placid, though it must be said that Yugoslav bus drivers avoid avalanches better than U.S. hockey players do.

It was not just an inconvenient storm. Forty people were killed in avalanches in Austria, Italy and Switzerland. Throughout Alpine Europe, roads were closed, villages cut off, skiers stranded. Austrian Franz Klammer, American Bill Johnson and that whole body of men who like to race down mountains had to break two dates with Mount Bjelašnica, where the winds topped 120 m.p.h. and the safety nets blew away. Over at Jahorina, the women downhillers were also delayed.

Even Karin Enke, the leggy and lovely speed skater from the German Democratic Republic, was inconvenienced. Her second race in two days had to be shoved back a few hours. But eventually she added a silver medal to her gold. Whatever the weather, those frosty cross-country men still take to the woods like splayfooted deer. In describing the Americans' disposition so far, it may be enough to say that 20 skiers came back from the 30-km race ahead of Bill Koch.

Eight years ago, when he was an anonymous young man of 20, who after racing could chip the ice out of his eyebrows without being bothered, Koch happened to win an Olympic silver medal at Innsbruck. No American had ever won a Nordic medal before, and none has done it since, though only Koch has been blamed for that. When during the 30 km in 1980 he quit and walked off the course, he said he was conserving his energy for the 15-km and 50-km races ahead. But public reaction was harsh. This time, though 21st, he reached the finish with a look of triumph. "It's not a gold medal,

**It was charming when a light dusting graced the city, but when it kept up for two days, the Alpine events closed down**

JOHN IACONO

but I hope people appreciate the effort," he said. "I'm not a quitter."

Koch also rejoiced for the winner, Soviet Nikolay Zimiatov, who preceded him by five minutes. "A real nice guy," he said of his old friend, who has now collected five gold medals in his life. How do the two communicate? "Mostly with our eyes. In a lot of ways, it's more forceful." The news of Yuri Andropov's death arrived about the same time as Zimiatov. But no one suggested that the team withdraw. With both Soviet and Yugoslav flags at half-staff, fun and Games continued.

The dimension of the hockey miracle in 1980 has been confirmed not so much by the U.S.'s opening loss to Canada—when the Americans were listless and Star Pat LaFontaine was off his feed—but by the Czechoslovak game two days later. "We didn't beat ourselves this time," said Coach Lou Vairo after that 4-1 defeat. "We competed hard, but we lost to a great team." They tied Norway in Game 3, and any thought of advancing to the medal round ended. At the Zetra Rink, a charming green bandbox, U.S. tourists waved their flags wanly, and the players were crushed. "They're just sitting there crying," Vairo reported. Mark Kumpel, 22, who scored the goal against the Czechs, said afterward, "It means nothing, but it was the greatest goal of my life. We've been treated like heroes for six months." And now? "I still feel like a hero."

"This is a good team," said TV Commentator Mike Eruzione, whose goal beat the Soviets in Lake Placid, "but I've never seen a goalie play as well as Jim Craig did for those two weeks in 1980." Twenty-seven seconds into the Canada game, the defending gold medalists were behind. The final score was 4-2, and though the play was less passionate than expected, the arena was quiet enough to hear a dream drop. The 1984 team has more teeth, but fewer calluses than its more grizzled predecessors. Ed Olczyk, 17, of Chicago, still says things like, "It wasn't long ago that, when the Black Hawks lost, I cried." David A. Jensen, 18, of Lawrence Academy in Groton, Mass., is writing a journal on this experience for high school credit. Of the hard road, he says, "It's tough living outside Mommy's arms. I thought I'd be taking biology now." Olczyk and Jensen are the wings of *Wunderkind* LaFontaine, who turns 19 three days after the closing ceremonies. A virus has restrained his performance.

The coach last time, Herb Brooks, parlayed the Olympics into a job with the New York Rangers, but Vairo expects to gain only criticism. "If 250 million people want to point fingers, that's fine," he says. "But we're not going to apologize for trying our best. If it was war, they wouldn't take any prisoners. But it's not war. It's still only a game."

To the Soviets, it is something more than that. Says Goalie Vladislav Tretiak, 31: "We are here only for the gold medal this time, and no one can beat us." Asked to comment on the U.S. predicament, he smiles but does not reply. There is an impression that he wishes the Americans were faring better. Once again, the Montreal Canadiens are romancing Tretiak, but they have received no encouragement from the Kremlin. At an Andropov memorial service attended by 200 U.S.S.R. athletes and officials at the village, one of four eulogies was delivered by Tretiak, who seemingly allows exactly one goal a game. The team opened with a 12-1 win against Poland, and followed with 5-1 and 9-1 triumphs over Italy and Yugoslavia. Keeping the Soviets in single digits, believe it or not, required a heroic stand by Yugoslav Goaltender Cveto Pretnar, who had 61 saves. *"Hajde Plavi!"* (Go Blue!)

**Skater Enke celebrates 1,500-meter gold with Teammate Andrea Schöne (right, silver) and the U.S.S.R.'s Natalia Petruseva (bronze)**

For its pageantry, brilliant colors and emotion, the opening ceremony of Yugoslavia's first Olympics deserved its own medal

chanted the home crowd. And when the blue-helmeted team actually scored, the cheering warmed the city.

By the weekend the XIV Winter Games had a heroine: Enke, whose 5 ft. 9¼ in., most of it legs, qualifies her as towering. She is an overgrown figure skater who may have forgotten how to do a triple jump, but has retained delicateness and grace. Out of her wetsuit, she puts no one in mind of a frogman. Her light-brown hair falls past her shoulders. "Where do you put it?" someone asked. She laughed. "Part in the cap, part in the suit."

After setting the 1,500-meter world record, Enke, 22, was penciled in for all four available golds, even for the 3,000-meter race, which she is not yet certain to skate. But a teammate, Christa Rothenburger, trimmed her by .08 sec. over 500 meters. The snow was thick enough almost to constitute fog, and the spectators were limited practically to those involved, plus a few enthusiastic Dutchmen and flag-waving Japanese. Paired with a slower skater, Enke had to rely on her own metronome, and it must have been off slightly. Still, the sensation of winning and then nearly repeating was beautiful. It made Enke forget "the hurting body."

If she wins some more this week—whoever does—the memory for all is sure to be of more than a snowstorm. The day of the opening ceremony, snow was abundant only in the mountains, and a welcome dusting that morning brought a happy blush to those streaming to Kosevo soccer stadium by bus or on foot. At a staging area outside the park, the U.S. Nordic skiers arrived early, including Kelly Milligan of Moose, Wyo. ("Twelve miles," as she explained, "from Jackson Hole"). Four years ago, Milligan was watching on television. "Now it's me," she sang. "I wear the white hat." Pretty

## The "Cigarski" Is Smoking

They had never sent a bobsled team to the Olympics before, yet at Sarajevo the Soviets not only showed up with a squad of twelve formidably well-drilled musclemen, but were instantly serious contenders for a medal. Kibitzers buzzed all week over the reason: three radically designed sleds that were both red and revolutionary. The Soviet bobs, guarded to prevent close inspection and whisked away by truck after practice runs, looked like sharks, or cigars or—the nickname that finally stuck—"cigarskis."

They were conventional in length, height and weight (two-man bobs may not weigh more than 858 lbs., including both crewmen). But the sled bodies were made in one piece, rather than in two as are other bobs, and they were much narrower than normal, with dramatic fins that jutted from each side of their noses and flanks. These allowed the sleds to meet the letter if not the spirit of the regulation that requires a minimum width of 34 in. Other sleds also have stubby finlike projections at the nose to stabilize the machine, and while those on the cigarskis appeared to be larger than normal, it was their added flank fins that stunned other sledders. Critics cautioned that the innovative fins could cause a careening bob to dig into the track, leading to a wrenching flip that might kill the crewmen.

The cigarskis were known to be surprisingly fast, but very hard to steer. In their first public appearance last November, at Winterberg, West Germany, they rolled several times. Before a race at Cortina, the Soviet team withdrew after two crashes. The U.S. and Swiss teams were interested enough, nevertheless, to have copies made. All were rejected for use in these Olympics, as their drivers did not know how to control them.

The Soviets persisted. A mysterious knuckle joint in the sled's suspension was said to make up for some of the stiffness of the one-piece body. "It's a good sled," one member of their team said last week, and then added, with a grin, "when it stays on the track." The cigarskis did stay on the track in practice.

**U.S. Goalie Marc Behrend is down, and so were his teammates after two losses and a tie**

soon, cowboy hats were popping up all around. "Look, here comes the cavalry."

Norwegian-born Audun Endestad, the newest U.S. citizen, barely made it. Leaving the Nordic ski team in Zurich, on a Monday morning, he paused in New York City en route to Salt Lake City, where he was sworn in thanks to a hurriedly signed special Senate bill in the works for about a year. Next, Endestad flew to San Francisco in quest of a passport, and from there he headed to Sarajevo, where he rushed directly from the airport to the stadium and dressed just in time for Tuesday's overture. Whew!

Yugoslav cadets, folk dancers, ballet troupes and high school girls formed colorful ranks: bluer than turquoise, pinker than flamingos. Their snowsuits looked so much like space suits, it might have been a wedding on the moon. Italians tossed snappy striped mufflers over their shoulders. The Canadians came as red-hooded Santas. Four men from Lebanon, all mustachioed, worked up small smiles. And, after cloaked Moroccans in bright burnooses, a one-man band ambled by: George Tucker, the famed Puerto Rican luger (win some, luge some) from Albany, N.Y. With "brakes on all the way," he breathlessly completed the necessary two qualifying runs, in which no particular times are necessary but survival is required. A chilled crowd, about 55,000 strong, was pleased with Tucker.

The earth tones of furry Soviets did not charm the Yugoslavs in the bleachers, who preferred their own team's trench coats, but heartily joined with scattered Americans cheering the U.S. athletes as they waved their stetsons. Significantly, when it came to electing a flag bearer, the U.S. captains of the various sports passed over those who are well publicized, and occasionally well paid, in favor of a dedicated Delaware luge racer named Frank Masley, 23, a second-time Olympian. "Their days may come on the medal stand," says Masley, who had no chance for that, "but this day was ours." He referred to all neglected sports.

Crashing in the first run of the Olympic trials five weeks ago, slightly denting his right cheek, Masley was required thereafter to slide impeccably, or the best American luge racer would have been left at home. With $600 in parts, Masley built his own sled. "I leave my job [computer drafting] for six months every year," he says, "and save every cent the rest of the time. But it's worth it, an incredible feeling, the wind rushing by. You're doing something. And this is the proudest moment of my life."

In their choice of flag bearer, perhaps even the athletes were expressing some disdain for the hypocrisies of amateurism. "We ain't pure," U.S. Olympic Committee President William Simon stated plainly before the Games began, calling for "a uniform definition of amateurism" or "being honest about it and having open Games." Citing the track-and-field trust-fund accounts as an example of "pure sham," Simon spoke of athletes "taught how to cheat" and shook his head.

Five hockey players—two Canadians, two Austrians and an Italian—were dismissed on the eve of the competition for having had brief encounters with the Na-

**In the bobsled, the U.S.S.R. produced its latest secret weapon**

They are so speedy on the smooth curves of new artificial tracks, like the one at Sarajevo, that one official of the International Bobsled and Tobogganing Federation thought they had won the technological war. "The Soviets have taken an exciting sport and turned it into an icy gray science," he said.

Not really. The East Germans, who have dominated bobsledding for the past several years, had quietly made some innovations of their own, notably a highly stable independent front suspension on a fairly conventional-looking sled, and their superb No. 2 team of Wolfgang Hoppe and Dietmar Schauerhammer took the gold medal Saturday. Another East German bob took the silver medal. The Soviets and one of their cigarskis won the bronze, however. For their team and all the others (including the Americans, who dragged in a dreary 15th), the next move was back to the drawing board. It is a good bet that unless the bobsled federation outlaws the new design on safety grounds, as doubters have threatened to do, some of the sketches that result will look a lot like the cigarski.

In the compulsory dance, Britain's Torvill and Dean earned the sport's first Olympic 6.0s

Zimiatov of the Soviet Union pushes through the blizzard to victory in the 30-km cross-country

Led by Enke at 2:03.42, eleven other skaters broke the 1,500-meter world record

tional Hockey League. One of the Austrians not expelled was Richard Cunningham, 32, veteran of more than 300 games in the defunct World Hockey Association. On the computer terminals in the press room, Cunningham's occupation is listed as "philosopher."

International Olympic Committee President Juan Samaranch must be one too. During his part in the ceremonies, he said, "We are convinced that once again we will demonstrate to the whole world the true meaning of sport as an illustration of friendship and fraternity, with the Olympic flag as the symbol." When Mika Spiljak, whose official title is "President of the Presidency," declared the Games open, doves raced balloons to the mountaintops. In one translation of the Olympic oath, vowed to for all by Yugoslav Skier Bojan Krizaj, the phrase "in the spirit of true sportsmanship" came out "in the spirit of true sponsorship," but the moment could not be spoiled.

Around a ramp of snow trucked down from the hills, the flame was delivered to Figure Skater Sanda Dubravcic. She ran the sparkler up a great white staircase, and the Olympic wok ignited instantly with a roar. But the highlight for some was the final duty of Lake Placid, the hosts of 1980, represented by Mayor Robert Peacock and the Norwood, N.Y., fire-department band. Appearing incomplete without a Dalmatian trotting alongside, the firemen oom-pah-pahed along the Bosnian Main Street, performing *When the Saints Go Marching In, America the Beautiful* and *Baby Face.*

Through all this frolicking, the audience was not only captivated but captive. As anyone with a notion of leaving early found out, the gates had been padlocked shut. Following the ceremonies, the people were set free in staggered waves, and they walked home. There have been further shows of security force: cars and cabs stopped, credentials and satchels checked, reporters occasionally patted down politely. None of it has seemed meanspirited. Police are oddly reasonable, and after a time, scarcely noticeable. Skier Marie-Luce Waldmeier had a good word for them: "Discreet."

Observers from Los Angeles, where protection will be the major worry at the Summer Games, include Mayor Tom Bradley, Police Chief Daryl Gates and Police Olympic Planner William Rathburn. Their problems will be larger, but it may have helped to see the queues backed up at metal detectors, delaying crowds of spectators for hockey games.

Peter Ueberroth, president of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, another visitor, says, "They can decree that things be done here. We can't decree." But the generous way the Yugoslavs have followed their orders seems beyond the requirements of duty. Taxi drivers refuse exorbitant tips, and strangers race after passers-by to return precious figure-skating tickets dropped in the snow. "They are fiercely proud, and they

want people to love their country," says Ueberroth. "This is what has to happen in Los Angeles for our Games to be successful." Among his new resolutions: to increase language services. "The Yugoslavs even gave Berlitz courses to cab drivers so they know a phrase or two of English. It works."

At the figure-skating competition, the barrier is not language. But getting through to skating judges is no easier in Sarajevo than anywhere else. During the early phases, form was hardly just holding, it was absolutely refusing to let go. The British ice-dancing champions Jayne Torvill and Christopher Dean received perfect 6.0 scores in the compulsory dance from three judges, two of whom were not the costume designer who dresses Torvill and Dean. Nobody denies that they are the best—or that the judges know who is supposed to be the best. The U.S. couple, Judy Blumberg and Michael Seibert, stood third, as expected.

The Carruthers, Kitty and Peter, were stirred in the pairs' short program by shouts of "U.S.A!" Peter said, "There aren't many Americans here, but the ones who came are pretty rowdy." Kitty added, "We saw the American flags go up, the people cheering, and I thought, 'Here we go.' It was a big boost." No American has ever won better than a bronze medal, but thanks partly to a flub by the top East German pair, the Carrutherses were tied for second before the free skating.

Any kind of medal this week will be the Americans' first. But back at the Olympic village, Mojmilo, the atmosphere has been clearing. After the snow dropped (18 in. in town, 49 in. on the mountains), the smog eased, and American athletes found less need for the purifying "air ecologizers" the team had packed. "I've been spending a lot of time in my room," says Rosalynn Sumners, whose most important week is finally here. "The air's O.K. there. But the only problem is that I've had too much time to think." When she has ventured outdoors, occasionally she has been seen in the company of Archrival Elaine Zayak and young Tiffany Chin. Figure skating can be a mean business, but at least they walk and laugh like friends.

This is Scott Hamilton's week too and, in skiing, Tamara McKinney's and Phil Mahre's. Although it does not sound like Mahre's. "Some athletes need a gold medal to be set for life," he says. "I'm set for life already." For a commentary on the relative riches of men, the Yugoslavs tending drifts on the snowy hills were rewarded with candy bars. Most of the snowplows in Yugoslavia, and a few from Austria, are in Sarajevo. The rest of the country must be closed. The duty-free shop at the press center is open, but the saleswomen are fed up with stir-crazy writers. In both Serbo-Croatian and English, a warning sign reads: MARRIED. —***By Tom Callahan. Reported by John Moody, B.J. Phillips and William Rademaekers/Sarajevo***

# Ready to Go, but Little to Show

ABC reporters and executives steeled themselves to cover the Olympics by taking practice runs down precipitous worst-case scenarios, but they could hardly have expected the succession of misfortunes—natural, mechanical and even political—that befell the network during the Games' opening week. Said Jim McKay: "You know the old line about the best laid plans of mice and men. I don't know how the mice made out, but the men have had a tough time."

The snow, fog and high winds that twice knocked out the men's downhill ski race eliminated any realistic chance of a U.S. medal to savor during the first four days. ABC concentrated on two successive losses by the U.S. hockey team, and the second game was temporarily and perhaps mercifully blacked out by a power shortage. The six-hour time difference meant that the American setbacks were reported on newscasts well in advance of ABC's programs. And somber news from Moscow and Beirut overshadowed the celebratory glow in Sarajevo.

The early ratings turned out to be almost as bad as the weather. On Tuesday, the first night of prime-time coverage, ABC drew only 18% of the audience, *vs.* 36% for NBC and 20% for CBS. The opening ceremonies on Wednesday attracted a more gratifying but still modest 27% share of viewers, *vs.* 26% for NBC and 25% for CBS. Thursday, ABC News and Sports President Roone Arledge, on the scene in Sarajevo, canceled a third hour of coverage because of the shortage of events, and the network's share dropped to about 21%. Said Joel Segal, executive vice president for broadcasting at the Ted Bates advertising agency: "We expect that ratings will get better, but indications are that they will not be as good as they were for the Innsbruck Games in 1976." Indeed, for the first three days, ratings were at least 25% lower than for the comparable days at Innsbruck.

**Arledge even had to cut 60 minutes**

Network executives, while cautioning that it was too soon to tell, conceded that ABC might provide "make-goods" to sponsors who paid $225,000 per 30-sec. commercial in prime time. Said ABC Vice President George Newi: "If ratings are off significantly, we would probably take care of our customers. But an American hero in there would pick things up."

To their credit, Anchorman McKay and his colleagues rarely let the pressure show, and they made the most of what they had. Eric Heiden's commentary enabled viewers to appreciate subtle differences in style among the competitors in the women's speed skating. ABC compressed Finnish Gold Medalist Marja-Liisa Hämäläinen's 10-km cross-country ski race into a montage of snow-hazed spurts of ardent labor that made her final collapse seem an inevitable part of the effort. Hockey Commentator Al Michaels could probably inject excitement into a pinochle game, although he shared in ABC's unrealistic buildup of the young, inexperienced U.S. team. As a taped image showed U.S. Downhill Skier Bill Johnson during a pell-mell training run, he explained each turn of the course and keyed viewers to the danger spots. ABC made sparing and mostly sensible use of its 74 cameras and state-of-the-art electronic whiz-bangery. Perhaps the best of its effusive yet informative pretaped features followed U.S. Luge Team Alternate Paul Dondaro down the vertiginous course as a tiny camera attached to his body showed how he steered by precise, split-second movements of his head and feet. The much ballyhooed computer graphics, however, added little to a viewer's understanding. At the opening ceremonies, for example, ABC hurtled graphics maps across the screen to pinpoint where lesser-known countries are situated, but the globes were so minute that it was hard to discern even continents. Some of the prepackaged features, put together in the name of world brotherhood, were embarrassing: John Denver crooned a mawkish ballad at a mass grave for 11,000 victims of the Nazis; and McKay, Frank Gifford and Bob Beattie mugged their way through a mock-boozy time-out in a Yugoslav bar.

In all, it was not a start to make ABC cheer. Said Newi: "I wouldn't call it an unmitigated disaster." Once the weather improved and strong U.S. contenders came on-screen, ABC no doubt would recoup. But the network last month agreed to pay a staggering $309 million to broadcast the 1988 Winter Games in Calgary, Alta., *vs.* $91.5 million for the Sarajevo rights. That means expanding coverage or more than tripling advertising prices. The shaky push-off in Sarajevo may have been a cautionary indication that after the repeatedly profitable thrill of victory, one day there might come the agony of defeat.

TO OUR CUSTOMERS

**"I hide the taste (of Maker's Mark) with orange juice, cherry juice and ice cream."**

W. G., *Missouri*

A letter-writer told us recently that if he drank, he'd drink Maker's Mark.

He went on to say that he wasn't a teetotaler. "I've just never developed the taste for whisky. When I do partake, I've got to have lots of sweet mixes to hide the taste . . . things like orange juice, cherry juice and ice cream.

"Next time I have a choice, I'll order a Whisky Sour made with Maker's Mark and a heavy dose of sweet fruit juice . . . better called a Whisky Sweet.

"Why would an otherwise intelligent person go to all this trouble? Because I like your style. And what the heck, as little as your distillery is, you need all the help you can get."

In amongst all this sweet talk there's quite a recommendation. And we certainly appreciate and value his unorthodox, but nonetheless, heart-warming support.

He may hide the taste, but he hasn't hidden the compliment.

Bill Samuels Jr., President

**It tastes expensive...and is.**

MAKER'S MARK DISTILLERY, LORETTO, KY 40037, 90 PROOF

# Medicine

**David, in his germ-free shell, is visited by Immunologist Shearer (1983)**

## Emerging from the Bubble

*Houston twelve-year-old gets his first hug*

He is known to the world as "the bubble boy" because he has been confined to a small, sterile room in Houston for all twelve years of his fragile life. Born without a functioning immune system, David was sealed off from the world's germs, the slightest of which could kill him. Last week, 3½ months after he underwent a bone-marrow transplant intended to fortify his body's defenses, he emerged from his germ-free cocoon. It was, quite literally, a touching moment. For the first time in his life, he was hugged and kissed by his mother. "She was amazed at how thick his hair was," reported a spokesman for Texas Children's Hospital. The patient's initial request: a Coke—the only one he ever had.

But not all was well for David, whose surname has been kept secret by the hospital in order to protect his privacy. Doctors have not yet determined whether the transplant was a success, and his recovery has been marred by recurrent bouts of fever, diarrhea and nausea. He was released from his bubble so that doctors could more easily treat and diagnose these symptoms.

David is the oldest survivor of severe combined immunodeficiency (SCID), a class of genetic defects that affect about 60 to 100 American newborns a year. Most die by age two. Children with SCID lack specialized white blood cells called T-cells, which help defend the body against viruses and other invaders. T-cells are ordinarily produced in an immature form in the bone marrow and come to maturity in the thymus (hence the T). The only cure for SCID is a transplant of healthy marrow, a bloodlike fluid found in large bones. But such transplants are difficult, since donated marrow must be carefully matched to the white-cell type of the recipient, far more complex than simply matching A, B or O blood types.

For David, a marrow transplant was initially out of the question: no one in his family matched his cell type. But in the past few years, researchers at Harvard and New York City's Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center have developed ways of chemically treating bone marrow so that transplants can be made even when the grafted marrow is imperfectly matched. These new methods made it possible for David to receive a marrow graft from his 15-year-old sister, Katherine.

The major peril in transplanting mismatched bone marrow has always been a rejection problem called graft-*vs.*-host disease. Even with treated marrow, there is some risk. According to Dr. Richard O'Reilly of Sloan Kettering, the disease is "the exact opposite of what we talk about with kidney or heart patients. Instead of the patient rejecting the organ, the cells that go in as the transplant literally reject the patient." If unchecked, the disease eventually destroys the liver, intestine and other vital organs. Early symptoms are similar to David's: nausea, diarrhea, fever.

David's doctor, Immunologist William Shearer, is hopeful that his famous patient is not suffering a graft-*vs.*-host reaction. Instead, he suspects that the symptoms are the positive signs of "an incipient immune system beginning to develop in a child who had none." Blood tests already suggest that his sister's cells are taking hold. Says Shearer: "We expect to know in a month." Now that he has been exposed to the outside world, David will never return to the bubble. For the present, he remains quarantined, but his family may visit his room wearing surgical garb. For the former bubble boy, even that amount of human contact must seem a luxury. ■

# Ford LTD
# Comfort when you want it...

Ford LTD. It's a beautiful balance of the two most important things a car needs to be. LTD's design is smart, crisp and understated. Inside, it is a comfortable, functional place to be. The seats are designed for driving comfort. They provide good lower back and under-thigh support. Side bolsters are generous to provide support while cornering. Both front seats are fully reclinable and feature fold-down armrests. LTD's interior is designed to let you drive, and drive well, in comfort and style.

# Capability when you need it.

Beneath all the comfort, there's solid capability. LTD's suspension with its front stabilizer bar and gas-filled shocks and struts coupled with rack and pinion steering makes up a ride and handling system that can handle almost any driving situation.

LTD. It's from Ford. And a recent survey concluded Ford makes the best-built American cars. The survey measured owner-reported problems during the first three months of ownership of 1983 cars designed and built in the U.S.

Ford LTD. Comfort when you want it. Capability when you need it.

Get it together–
Buckle up.

**Have you driven a Ford... lately?**

# Shaped by Bostonian Civility

*The $500 million Copley Place fits in with Back Bay, almost*

Like all living organisms, cities are constantly changing. One American city that seems to manage technological and economic change without sacrificing its essential character is Boston. Its residents have kept their new downtown, with its forthright and boldly sculptural city hall, the Faneuil Hall festival market and converted granite warehouses along the waterfront, as Bostonian as Bunker Hill. Now they are managing to control drastic changes in the famed Back Bay neighborhood. The latest and most dramatic case in point is Copley Place, a $500 million shopping, office and hotel complex that opens this week. The development might have been another alien invader of the city, like such self-centered and gaudy projects as Renaissance Center in Detroit and Embarcadero Center in San Francisco. But surprisingly, Copley Place almost fits in. There seems enough of Boston's old civic mettle left to have forced a certain architectural civility upon the development.

At the turn of the century, Back Bay was all genteel opulence and social superiority, magnificently expressed by Henry Hobson Richardson's Trinity Church and McKim, Mead & White's public library on Copley Square. In the 1950s the area began to slide into a comfortable shabbiness. Most of the grand houses were converted into private schools, dormitories and offices, or divided into small apartments and rooming houses. Shops proliferated. In 1965 the clumsy 52-story-high Prudential Center rose incongruously on Boylston Street. It was followed by the 60-story mirror-glass John Hancock tower and other tall buildings. This "high-rise spine," as planners call it, formed an impressive skyline but failed to mitigate the disaster on the ground: early in the 1960s, 9.5 acres of living, breathing, historic city right next to Copley Square was torn up to form a sunken tangle of railroad tracks and turnpike ramps. The gash also divided the Back Bay and South End neighborhoods.

Copley Place was built on top of the turnpike mess. The hole in the urban fabric has become a rose-and-beige-striped building complex, housing two hotels (36 and 38 stories high, with a total of nearly 2,000 rooms), four seven-story office buildings, shopping galleries with 100 restaurants and stores (including such glossy names as Neiman-Marcus, Tiffany, Gucci and Saint Laurent), a nine-screen movie house and parking for 1,432 cars.

The developer, Chicago's Urban Investment & Development Co., a subsidiary of Aetna Life & Casualty, became interested in Copley Place through its senior vice president, Kenneth A. Himmel, 37, who grew up in the Boston area. "We are aiming at an entirely new market," explains Himmel. "Silicon Valley is moving east. The bright young people in the electronic and related industries are attracted by Boston's unusual cultural, scientific and educational facilities, if not to settle and work there, at least to visit, meet and consult. Back Bay, with its new railroad station and freeway exits, is just the place for them."

The Massachusetts Turnpike Authority, which owns and leases the Copley Place air rights, and the Office of State Planning insisted only that Himmel's firm "subject its plans to a vigorous citizen review." Architect Tunney Lee, 52, former chief of planning design at the Boston Redevelopment Authority, was engaged to work with residents. The resulting citizens' review committee held some 50 sessions, attended by 30 to 40 representatives of neighborhood associations and labor, business and civil rights groups. Himmel was glad to cooperate to avoid costly delays, painfully aware that bitter citizen opposition had recently obstructed Park Plaza, a proposed 50-story development overlooking Boston's public garden. "We see citizens' review as a creative opportunity," he says.

Lee estimates that the citizens' committee got about 65% of what it asked for. Among the concessions it won: employment priority for people living in the neighborhood and the inclusion of 100 housing units, a quarter of them low income, even though Copley Place did not displace anyone.

The review committee's greatest concern, however, was to have this huge project serve both the Back Bay and South End neighborhoods and to make it an integral part of the city. The designers, the Architects Collaborative, Inc., with Howard F. Elkus as the principal in charge, somewhat—but, alas, far from entirely—overcame the joyless-fortress syndrome. The composition of the building masses is pleasing. It starts low at the Copley Square side, nicely mending the turnpike damage done there, and steps up to the scale of the Prudential building on the other side. The saving graces of the design are three portals, with dramatic glass canopies, and some sizable glass panels in odd places. The panels afford people within the building views of some of the landmarks outside, giving them a sense of place.

STEVE ROSENTHAL

**One of the development's hotel towers looms over the public library on Copley Square, right**

*Mending a hole in the urban fabric, but far from entirely avoiding the fortress syndrome.*

The interior, however, could be in New York City's Trump Tower, Chicago's Water Tower Place, Houston's Galleria or any of several other vacuously luxuriant shopping centers that seem designed for a latter-day Marie Antoinette. Here the architects became tacky in an orgy of salmon-colored tile and Spanish marble, brass and rosewood, fountains and vegetation and, naturally, a waterfall sculpture. Copley Place's two-level shopping mall is a catalogue of high-priced interior-decorator clichés.

Kitsch, however, is bearable and can even be fun if there is an easy escape. From Copley Place, you step out into Boston rather than some endless suburban parking lot. **—By Wolf Von Eckardt**

# Winston. America's Best.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

# Religion

## Slow Death for Iran's Baha'is

*A pacific faith appears to be targeted for annihilation*

In most countries, believers in the Baha'i faith are looked upon as model citizens. Their religion places great stress on industriousness, peacefulness and obedience to the law. In Iran, however, Baha'is are not only unwanted but actively persecuted. Since the Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini came to power in 1979, Iran's 300,000 Baha'is have suffered a reign of terror in the land where their faith was born. In the latest of many protests, the State Department's annual human rights report stated last week that believers "suffer from imprisonment, torture and execution" at the hands of the government.

Since 1979, at least 150 believers have been put to death. Though the official charges usually involve "spying" or "treason," Baha'is say that the real reason is official intolerance of a faith which the Shi'ite Muslim mullahs of Iran regard as blasphemous. An estimated 550 Baha'is are in prison. Thousands more have lost their homes and possessions, and mobs have desecrated Baha'i assembly halls, cemeteries and the faith's holiest shrine in Iran, the House of the Bab in Shiraz.

Though Iran's constitution allows Christians and Jews to practice their faiths, Baha'is have no such freedom. The U.S. human rights report says that the government has established a legal basis to "move against all Baha'is if it chooses to do so." In Wilmette, Ill., headquarters for the faith's 100,000-member U.S. branch (worldwide membership: 3 million), a spokesman fears that "unless things change, Baha'is in Iran are going to be annihilated."

Last August, Iran's prosecutor-general, Hojatoleslam Hossein Musavi Tabrizi, ordered the abolition of all Baha'i organizations. The community obediently shut down its 400 local meetinghouses and dissolved the national and local governing councils. In the months since Tabrizi's declaration, a farmer was lynched, a young woman was slain by a mob just after she gave birth, and 190 more Baha'is were arrested. Says Mehri Mavaddat, an Iranian refugee lawyer now living in Toronto whose husband was executed in 1981: "The killings are very casual. That's what makes them so horrible. Some are arrested and killed. Some are known to the government but not arrested."

Baha'is, who are often convenient scapegoats, have been persecuted since their faith was founded in mid-19th century Persia. After a tyrannical Shah was assassinated by a Muslim terrorist in 1896, crowds attacked the Baha'i community in Yazd, killing several people. Believers were repeatedly tortured and mutilated by local vigilantes in subsequent years. The worst outburst prior to Khomeini's takeover occurred in 1955-56 under the late Shah. Former agents of SAVAK, the Shah's secret police, say that government agents provoked anti-Baha'i hysteria to divert reactionary Muslims from turning their fury against the Shah. Recalls a former SAVAK officer: "A lot of Muslim clergy, including many with high positions in the Khomeini regime, grew rich on SAVAK money, which they took to fight Bahaism and Communism." In the 1978 turmoil that preceded the Shah's departure, 40 people, both Baha'is and Muslims, were killed during rioting in Shiraz.

Persian Baha'is in chains (1896)

Holy House of the Bab in Shiraz under mob attack in 1979

*To Muslims, a blasphemous creed with too many prophets.*

There is a fundamental doctrinal reason for such enmity. Islam proclaims that Muhammad was the "Seal of the Prophets," God's final messenger to mankind. But the Baha'i faith—an offshoot of Shi'ism, which is itself a minority branch of Islam—asserts that two prophets came after Muhammad. To Muslims this constitutes a new, perverted faith. The first prophet was Mirza 'Ali Muhammad, who declared in 1844 that he was the Bab (gate), the pathway to God. He was executed in 1850 as a heretic. When Persian authorities tried to wipe out his disciples, the Babis fought back; as many as 20,000 were slain.

One of the Babis adopted the name Baha'u'llah (Glory of God) and proclaimed himself the Promised One, or Messiah, in 1863; his followers became known as Baha'is. He replaced the Babis' militant zeal with strict nonviolence. Baha'u'llah spent many of his final years in a Turkish prison or under house arrest near present-day Haifa, Israel. There the Baha'is built his tomb and established their world headquarters. This tenuous connection with Israel further inflames Muslim suspicions.

Baha'is advocate world peace and the unification of all peoples and religions. They respect the Koran and holy books of other faiths. The Baha'is have no clergy class and elect their leaders to limited terms of office. The Baha'is also champion world government and the use of an unspecified universal language. But unity, say members, will come only by worshiping God through Baha'u'llah, the prophet who is his "Manifestation" and who revealed God's message in 100-odd books, which were translated from Arabic and Farsi as the creed spread. The Old Testament messianic predictions and New Testament passages on Christ's second coming are seen as references to Baha'u'llah. In contrast to Islam, the Baha'i faith believes in equal treatment for men and women and teaches that modern science is compatible with true religion.

The policy of peace applies even to current enemies. Vahid Alavian, an engineering teacher at the University of Illinois whose father was tortured and executed in Iran in 1981, seeks to be forgiving toward the anti-Baha'i mobs, although he doubts that the Almighty will be as tolerant. "They are mostly pawns who believe they are working for the elimination of the ungodly from the earth," he says. "But those who plan all this know better, and they will pay a high price before God." —***By Richard N. Ostling. Reported by Raji Samghabadi/New York and Don Winbush/Chicago***

# Books

## Imaginative Enchantments

A HOUSE IN THE COUNTRY *by José Donoso; Knopf; 352 pages; $16.95*

With *The Obscene Bird of Night* (1973), his fourth book, Chilean Author José Donoso joined the front ranks of South American fabulists. His sprawling novel not only housed more grotesques than a whole rack of Gothic thrillers; it also offered a narrator who pretended to be a deaf-mute, baroque retellings of native legends and a riot of inventiveness. Donoso was inevitably mentioned in the same breath with Borges and Márquez as yet another prophetic surrealist bent on reimagining his colorful, tragic continent.

*A House in the Country* proves, first of all, that success has not made Donoso cautious. His new novel takes major risks. It does without a strong central character around whom the action can revolve. It offers instead the Ventura family: seven adults and their spouses plus 33 children ranging in age from six to 16. This clan spends every summer at Marulanda, a magnificent, fenced-in estate, with a vast plain outside stretching to the horizon in all directions. Barely visible are the blue mountains beyond, where laborers who are virtual slaves mine the Ventura gold.

A small army of servants waits on the whims of the family. When a new husband of a Ventura bride wonders aloud why he sees the same lackey in crimson livery standing in the same spot every day, he is asked in return: "Don't you agree that a touch of red is needed just there, a complementary color to focus the green composition, as in a Corot landscape?" The woman who makes this reply is Celeste, the family's ultimate arbiter in matters of aesthetics, interior decoration and fashion. She is blind. Similarly, the renowned four-story library at Marulanda is all veneer, a mass assembly of false fronts: "Behind those thousands of proudly bound spines there existed not a single printed letter."

Suspicions that the Venturas are meant to stand, in exaggerated poses, for some of the more garish South American oligarchies are inescapable, and Donoso does nothing to discourage them. But he also ducks any implied accusations of realism. After setting and populating his scene in the first chapter, the author takes pains to point out that his creations are impalpable figures of fancy. He asks his readers to "accept what I write as an artifice. By intruding myself from time to time on the story I simply wish to remind the reader of his distance from the material of this novel, which I would like to claim as something entirely my own, for exhibit or display, never offered for the reader to confuse with his own experience ... The synthesis produced by reading this novel—I allude to that ground where I allow the imagination of reader and writer to merge—must never be the simulation of any real ground."

José Donoso: creating impalpable figures of fancy

### Excerpt

"Here lay the quarters for the servants... Back in one corner, a melancholy boy from the south strummed a broken mandolin found in one of the garrets, weaving the futile passions of his country ballads. It was in these parts, too, that the mushrooms were grown, pale and fat as frog bellies, whose caretaker, after a short time shut up underground, turned as cold, as silent, as blind as those delicious fungi the masters were so fond of. One had only to venture a short distance, lamp in hand, beyond where last year's straw ticks lay rotting, to come across other networks of honeycomb cells, where the new servants, hanging up their shining liveries, their boots or aprons, after the day's work was over, resumed their semblance of private lives, soon aborted by fatigue and despair... But none of the Venturas ever went down to the cellars."

Even if this stance is ironic, it leaves readers with hardly any place to stand. Events in *A House in the Country* are not only bizarre but vertiginous, a maelstrom around negation. Suppose, the novel demands, that one summer the elder Venturas decide to spend a day away from their estate at a picnic site that may or may not exist. They take all their servants and weapons with them (cannibals are said to maraud in the wilds, although no living family member can testify to having seen one), leaving their 33 pampered children alone and unprotected in the huge house.

Suddenly, the young people's games, rivalries and sexual experimentations assume the edge of urgency. Many of them believe that the grownups will never return; the sublime irresponsibility of the Venturas toward everything but their own wealth and pleasures seems headed toward apotheosis. Some cousins hide in fear, others plot revolution, while others still, in a frenzy they do not understand, tear up the protective fence around Marulanda, breaking the hermetic seal around their lives.

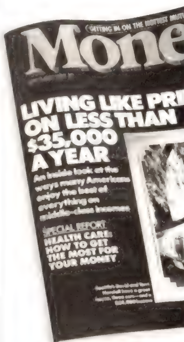
Invaders appear, or seem to: cannibals, neighboring peasants, armed servants intent on recapturing the house for their masters, although visions of rebellion motivate a few of these as well. Donoso, 59, keeps this panorama of victories and defeats moving through exhaustive permutations in high gear, and the translation from Spanish by David Pritchard and Suzanne Jill Levine proceeds vigorously. Imaginative enchantments pop up everywhere: the ballroom at Marulanda, where the real exits, amid a host of *trompe l'oeil* imitations, are considered false; the elaborately thwarted arabesque performed by a wife who offers her husband younger women to be rid of him, while he in turn grows ever more grateful and faithful to her.

Donoso's magic is munificent but chilly; he aims to beguile the senses rather than engage them. Near the end, he closes up shop: "The curtain must now fall and the lights come up; my characters will take off their masks. I will pull down the sets, put away the props." Few will regret attending this dazzling performance; some may wish that they had been allowed to care more about the play. —*By Paul Gray*

# LIVE ON AN EASIER STREET

**A higher income. A better career. A new opportunity. The way MONEY sees it, you should see a brighter future. So if you'd like to improve your lifestyle, call for a subscription today...and live on an easier street!**

**1-800-621-8200 toll-free, around the clock. (In Illinois, 1-800-972-8302.) Or write to: MONEY Magazine/P.O. Box 2519/Boulder/Colorado/80322**



**Money**
**MAKE THE MOST OF IT.**




# Doakies

LEAVING THE LAND
*by Douglas Unger*
*Harper & Row; 277 pages; $13.95*

The Joads would be as displaced in Douglas Unger's first novel as they were in *The Grapes of Wrath*, though Ma, Pa and Tom might not understand how it was possible to become outcasts of national prosperity. For generations, the land around Unger's Nowell, S. Dak., has produced an abundance of wheat and corn. During World War II, a need for a fast, cheap protein spurs the Government to subsidize an increase in turkey raising. The larger output can easily be handled at the local processing plant, owned by Safebuy, an early entrant in agribusiness. Eventually overproduction and falling demand leave farmers with too many birds and no money to pay back bank loans. Safebuy can then pursue "vertical integration," headquarters jargon for buying distressed land cheap and getting the former owners to work it for wages. Ironically, the capitalists soon discover themselves in the same fix as Communists who nationalized agriculture: yields drop because farmers will not put in 18-hour days on someone else's acreage. The company is left to confront its "farm unit management problems," and Nowell sinks deeper into the macroeconomic dust bowl.

**Douglas Unger**
*Sodbusters and paper pushers*

Unger converts this Wall Street fodder into an affecting family story, mercifully short on saga but long on authenticity and the instinctual relationship between people and their land. A lot of true grit sifts through his pages. A farmer leads his sons as if growing things were a war on nature: "Their machines moved out over the fields, the mower clattering, breaking down at least twice a day. The old man stomped and swore. He nicked his hands replacing sharp steel teeth. The hayrakes followed his mower, his sons turning the dried hay into neat, continuous piles that looked like whorls of a huge thumbprint." A mother lays down the facts of life as immutable laws: "There's a lot more to life than the kind of love you mean. . . There's children and dogs and a garden to water. There's having a house and all the things that go with it, and all the work to keep that house a place where people want to come to your door, that's what there is."

The author, 31, a graduate of the Iowa Writers' Workshop, breaks no stylistic ground. He blocks out his novel in two broad sections. The first is the third-person narrative of Marge Hogan, farm daughter whose two older brothers are killed in World War II. She spends her working hours in a sea of white feathers and turkey droppings, and her free time at the Cove Café, where a desperate young woman might select the best from a bad lot of rude and scruffy locals.

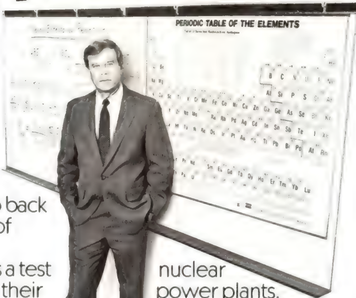
Marge breaks ranks by marrying James Vogel, newcomer and lawyer for Safebuy, but the traditions of paper pushing and sodbusting soon conflict. The marriage dissolves. Marge must work the gambling wheel at the Elks' club to raise her son Kurt and to keep the fallow farm where her widowed mother bitterly awaits death. Part II is Kurt's account of Mother Marge's struggles, her drinking and her unhousebroken boyfriends, including a Sioux sheep rancher. The novel concludes with a hint of contrivance as the title, *Leaving the Land*, takes on a resonant double meaning: the inevitability of departures and the promise of continuity.

Unger obviously writes about what he knows: the coarse prairie soil called gumbo, the papery texture of clapboard in the last stages of dry rot, the astonishing stupidity of turkeys: "At first, they pecked cautiously at the droplets as if they were insects. Then after the slow realization that it was water . . . that entire flock in an incredibly orchestrated movement raised their scraggly necks from the ground, tilted their bald red heads to face the sky, and opened their beaks wide to the falling rain until they drowned."

Unger also understands what writers like Eudora Welty have learned, that the trick is to write what you don't know about what you know. He intuits a generous range of emotions and draws stark credibility from the stoppled rage of defeated men and lonely women. Despite scenes of barnyard naturalism, his book is not simplistic. Safebuy plays rough but is no facile symbol for evil. Hardworking farmers lose the most, but sympathy is strained when they conduct "funeral auctions," a feeble euphemism for looting the property of newly buried neighbors. Yet scavengers cannot remove the land, which Unger's promising debut conveys as both real estate and dreams. —*By R.Z. Sheppard*

# "Most people sweat to get a job. My people sweat to keep it."

—Gene Fitzpatrick
Director of Nuclear Training
Commonwealth Edison




"They have to go back to school one week out of every six.

"And every year, pass a test to prove they can still do their job right.

"Survive six long hours of questions that take a real knowledge of algebra, chemistry, nuclear physics, thermal hydraulics and a whole lot more.

"And those are just the fundamentals.

"All told, we give our operators more training than a commercial pilot has to have.

"Those aren't the kind of shoes everybody wants to be in. But it's the only way we'll let you get behind the controls of one of Commonwealth Edison's nuclear power plants.

"It's too big a responsibility to ask for anything less.

"So taking it on isn't something you can feel lukewarm about. It takes too much blood. And sweat. And even tears sometimes, if you've got any pride.

"That's a rare kind of commitment, but it's pretty common out here."

Commonwealth Edison
Doing things right.
*And proud of it.*

# AFTER TWO STATE CHAMPIONSHIPS, JAN SMITH STILL WONDERS IF HE HAS A FUTURE IN COACHING.

Nine years ago, Jan Smith was young and healthy. He graduated from college and landed a job at Utah's Morgan High. Then, like 200 young adults every week, he learned he had multiple sclerosis.

MS attacks the central nervous system, robbing you of your control. Control of your arms. Your legs. Your eyes. Little by little, it steals control of your life.

There's no cure for MS yet, but there is hope.

The National Multiple Sclerosis Society is helping people like Jan Smith live with MS. And funding research for a cure, all over the world. We can do it, but only with your help. Please give generously to your local chapter of the National Multiple Sclerosis Society.

**NATIONAL MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS SOCIETY** 205 East 42nd Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10017

## JUST WHEN YOU'RE STARTING TO LIVE, MS CAN STRIKE.



# Malefactress

ANY FOUR WOMEN COULD ROB THE BANK OF ITALY
*by Ann Cornelisen; Holt, Rinehart & Winston; 291 pages; $15.95*

"Men might be cerebral," muses one female crook, "but not about women." With a dash of irony and a hint of irreverence, Ann Cornelisen puts that theory to the test in her puckish new novel. Determined to tease men out of their cozy gallantry, and also to expose Italy's rococo inefficiency, a sextet of foreign women in a sleepy Tuscan village decide to rob a local mail train. Plotting the crime as if it were a script, they adopt literary aliases, don disguises and then, without much difficulty, carry off the million-dollar theft. The lackadaisical local police force instantly sets up an intensive manhunt, combing the area for con men, wise guys and rogues. But the women, as they had suspected, are not in the least suspected.

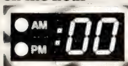
**Ann Cornelisen**
*Plotting an elaborate wild-gander chase.*

From her mischievous and misleading title to her topsy-turvy feminism—"I say women are as innately evil and grasping or selfish as men and fully as criminal. They have a *right* to equal suspicion," says one malefactress—Cornelisen shares both the conspirators' secrets and their seditious high spirits. But she refuses to let them get away clean. After the caper, the culprits are unsettled not by their guilt or greed but, more fittingly, by their insouciance and sprightly intelligence. And in the end they begin to suspect that inefficiency may, after all, be Italy's greatest charm, and chivalry men's saving grace.

An American who has lived in Italy for 30 years, Cornelisen is so much at home with the Italian scene and its cosmopolitan settlers that she can at once see through them and like what she perceives. Her four earlier books were heartfelt doc-

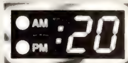
# WBBM Newstime is right now.

***CBS News on the hour***

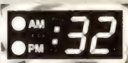



***Traffic*/Weather***

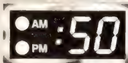
***Traffic*/Weather***



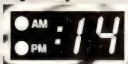

***Traffic*/Weather***



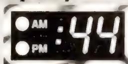

***Traffic*/Weather***



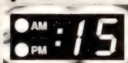

***Top Story***




***Top Story***

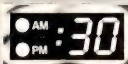



***Sports***

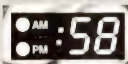



***Sports***

***News Headlines***




***News Headlines***




***Business*****

***CBS Radio Network Feature***

*traffic/rush hours only
**Mon-Fri 6:40am-11:40pm

Want the top news story of the hour? Tune to Newsradio 78 at 0:14 or 0:44 minutes after the hour. Night or Day. Interested in the weather? Listen at 0:06, 0:20, 0:32 or 0:50 after the hour. Again-any hour, night or day. Sports? 0:15 and 0:45 after. That's the Newsradio 78 format: news and info at fixed spots on your clock-round the clock. To make it easy for you to find when you want it. Plus daily reports from John Madigan and Walter Jacobson. And CBS Radio Network features with Dan Rather, Charles Osgood, Brent Musburger and others. Remember. For all-inclusive reporting, tune to WBBM Newsradio 78 where newstime is right now.

| **Mon-Fri** | |
|---|---|
| John Madigan News & Commentary | 5:55am |
| Walter Jacobson Perspective (Tu-Sa) | 6:55am |
| Newsbreak/Charles Osgood | 8:25am |
| In the Kitchen/Sherman Kaplan | 10:38am |
| The Osgood File | 11:25am |
| Sherman Kaplan's Reviews | 12:47pm |
| Suburban Report/Donn Pearlman | 3:54pm |
| Dan Rather Reporting | 4:25pm |
| Up-To-Date/John Hultman | 4:55pm |
| Report to Consumers/Dick Helton | 6:25pm |
| Travel/Steve Birnbaum | 7:38pm |
| **Sat** | |
| John Case Outdoor Report | 6:40am |
| Your Money Minute | 8:56am |
| Mirkin on Fitness | 12:54pm |
| Report on Medicine | 2:54pm |
| **Sun** | |
| At Issue | 9:30am |
| Around the House | 1:40pm |
| Report on Religion | 2:40pm |
| **Last Tues. of each month** | |
| Ask the Governor | 7:00pm |
| **And much more.** | |

## WBBM/CBS NEWSRADIO 78

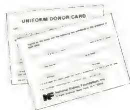
# *Sign Up With A Winner...*

*Photograph courtesy of Richard Benkof*

Keith Hernandez and the National Kidney Foundation need you to help shut-out kidney disease and help millions of Americans who suffer from this illness. What can you do?

Sign an Organ Donor Card or the back of your Driver's License. You can make the difference ... a strike-out or a grand-slam victory over kidney disease!

So, what's it going to be?



**THE NATIONAL KIDNEY FOUNDATION**
**of Eastern Missouri & Metro East, Inc.**
8135 Forsyth Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63105

*Call today* ***314/863-5858***

**SOME NIGHTS ARE ROUGHER THAN OTHERS IN CHICAGO'S MOST DANGEROUS POLICE DISTRICT.**

**CHANNEL 5 NEWS**

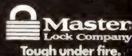
What happens on the streets of Chicago's most dangerous police district? Channel 5 sent reporter Paul Hogan out on the beat with a veteran police officer to find out.

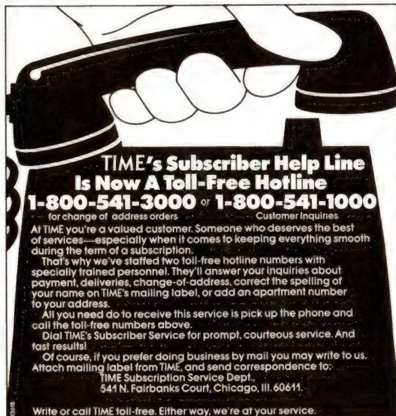
Go on patrol with them Thursday night.

**Chicago's Most Dangerous District.**

**Paul Hogan reports Thursday at 10.**

**NEWS THAT HITS HOME**







umentaries about depressed villages and their degraded women; here she addresses the flip side of the country's trials. Her most winning character is, in a sense, the lazy, sunlit hill town of San Felice Val Gufo, whose main industry is gossip and main activity leisure. Its happy-go-lucky air is eminently well suited to the semi-elegant foreign riffraff—lascivious artists, terminal good-for-nothings, dotty Brits, retired CIA agents and indiscriminate snobs—who haunt the area. So blundering and blustering are the idle expatriates that the locals are moved to conclude that "foreigners were almost like real people."

In the face of all these riotous acts and raucous collisions, Cornelisen raises her eyebrows more often than her voice. She propels the reader through an elaborate wild-gander chase with confident speed but with deftness enough to deal with its various flat tires and accidents. By the end, indeed, she has succeeded in driving her point home without losing her balance. *—By Pico Iyer*

## Editors' Choice

**FICTION:** The Anatomy Lesson, *Philip Roth* • The Collected Stories of Colette, *edited by Robert Phelps* Life and Times of Michael K, *J.M. Coetzee* • Pitch Dark, *Renata Adler* The Salt Line, *Elizabeth Spencer* Shame, *Salman Rushdie*

**NONFICTION:** The Complete Lyrics of Cole Porter, *edited by Robert Kimball* • Dostoevsky: The Years of Ordeal, 1850-1859, *Joseph Frank* E.B. White: A Biography, *Scott Elledge* • Tales from the Secret Annex, *Anne Frank* • Traveling Light, *Bill Barich* • The True Adventures of John Steinbeck, Writer, *Jackson J. Benson*

## Best Sellers

**FICTION**

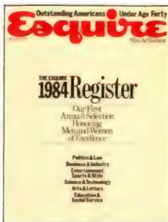
1. Pet Sematary, *King (1 last week)*
2. Who Killed the Robins Family?, *Adler and Chastain (2)*
3. Poland, *Michener (3)*
4. Smart Women, *Blume (10)*
5. The Story of Henri Tod, *Buckley (8)*
6. Changes, *Steel (4)*
7. Berlin Game, *Deighton (6)*
8. Hollywood Wives, *Collins (7)*
9. The Wicked Day, *Stewart*
10. The Name of the Rose, *Eco (9)*

**NONFICTION**

1. In Search of Excellence, *Peters and Waterman (1)*
2. Motherhood, *Bombeck (2)*
3. Tough Times Never Last, but Tough People Do!, *Schuller (3)*
4. Weight Watchers Fast and Fabulous Cookbook, *Weight Watchers International (4)*
5. Creating Wealth, *Allen (9)*
6. The James Coco Diet, *Coco (5)*
7. On Wings of Eagles, *Follett (6)*
8. The Best of James Herriot, *Herriot (7)*
9. Nothing Down, *Allen (8)*
10. Seeds of Greatness, *Waitley (10)*

Computed by TIME from more than 1,000 participating bookstores

# Join Esquire in a talent search like none before




*The Esquire 1984 Register*
**A unique publishing event, even by the unique standards of Esquire. Coming in December 1984.**

It is Esquire's contention that the postwar generation—the generation of the baby boom—has overcome its growing pains and begun to make decisive contributions to every facet of American life today.

Emerging from an era of massive change, it is a generation committed to change in the form of new ideas. New processes. New goals. At its best, charging our society with a fresh spirit. Matching any American generation before it in energy, in idealism, in accomplishment.

It is Esquire's intention to salute this generation by finding and honoring its most remarkable members, active in the spheres of politics and law; business and industry; entertainment, sports, and style; science and technology; arts and letters; and education and social service.

**Esquire's search includes a network of reporters working in the 13 regions of the U.S. shown above.**

The first steps are already under way: an intensive, year-long, nationwide talent search covering virtually every county of every state in the Union. Before the final selection, Esquire's regional reporting network, Board of Advisers, and Final Selection Committee will have identified, nominated, and screened over five thousand candidates.

The climax will come in December 1984 in the form of a special issue of Esquire: *The Esquire 1984 Register,* celebrating these outstanding Americans under age forty. It will be no mere who's who: the special qualities and achievements of each honoree will be illuminated in an essay by a distinguished writer. Making this a unique chronicle of excellence. Wrought in a style that is uniquely Esquire's.

There are one hundred million Americans under forty years of age from whom to choose. To Esquire's own resources in finding the most outstanding ones, you are invited to add yours. If you know, or know of, an individual who deserves consideration for *The Esquire 1984 Register,* complete and return the nomination form below.

You will be assisting in a talent search like none before. Designed to honor a generation of Americans like none before.

ES-TI

*To: Nominating Committee*
*The Esquire 1984 Register*
*2 Park Avenue*
*New York, N.Y. 10016*

I wish to nominate the following person:

Name__________

Age____ Occupation__________

Address__________

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Telephone__________

My nominee is involved in:

- ☐ Politics & Law
- ☐ Arts & Letters
- ☐ Education & Social Service
- ☐ Business & Industry
- ☐ Science & Technology
- ☐ Entertainment, Sports & Style

This person deserves consideration because__________

(Attach a separate sheet if needed.)

(Optional)

Your Name__________

Address__________

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

May an Esquire writer or editor contact you for further information?

☐ Yes ☐ No

## The Esquire 1984 Register

HONORING OUTSTANDING AMERICANS UNDER FORTY

# Why IBM?

"I head a data processing department of more than 300 people. Six thousand other people throughout our company depend on us for the data they need to get their jobs done.

"So we need a system that works. And if a machine gives us trouble, I don't want any trouble getting it fixed. Fixed fast, fixed right. And if there's a better way to do things or a better machine to do them, I need to know about it today.

"I need a company that'll teach our people how to use these machines so my productivity doesn't go out the window while they're trying to learn.

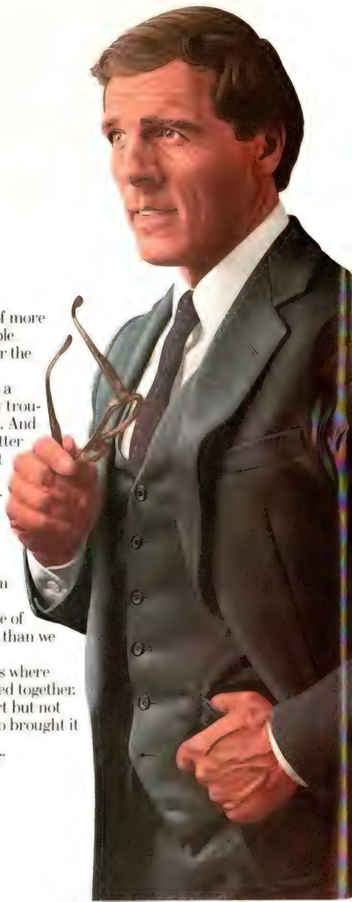
"I need a company that will help in the design and most efficient use of the system it sells me.

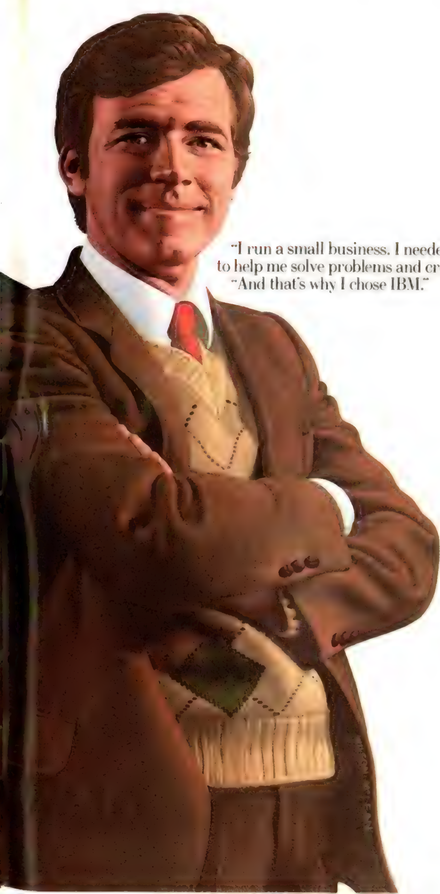
"I need a company that has a wide range of products so we don't have to settle for less than we need. Or more.

"I want a company that knows and cares where I'm going so we can plan, grow and succeed together.

"I need a company that's solid and smart but not so impressed with itself that it forgets who brought it in here in the first place.

"That's me. And that's why I chose IBM."




"I run a small business. I needed just one, good machine to help me solve problems and create opportunities.
"And that's why I chose IBM."
IBM

PROOF IMPORTED BY SOMERSET IMPORTERS LTD. N.Y. N.Y.

RED STANDS OUT. ON THE ROCKS.

ITS DISTINCT PREMIUM TASTE MAKES IT THE WORLD'S BEST SELLING SCOTCH.

JOHNNIE WALKER RED®

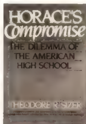
Send a gift of Johnnie Walker Red anywhere in the U.S.A. Call 1 800 238 4373
Void where prohibited

# Education

## Clearing the Structure Away

*In a new report, an educator urges "personalized" high schools*

Longer school days. Stiffer graduation requirements. Better teaching of basics. Higher pay for teachers. A barrage of recommendations for improving American public schools has been released over the past year by commissions, consultants and critics alike. This week a major new report by a respected reformer offers the most radical proposals yet. In *Horace's Compromise: The Dilemma of the American High School* (Houghton Mifflin; $16.95), Theodore Sizer argues that the nation's high schools are rigid and out of date, and he calls for a drastic reorganization of the curriculum and school day. Sizer, a former headmaster of Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass., as well as a former dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, urges doing away with age-based grades, minimum ages for leaving school and "tracking" of students by ability. He believes that uniform course structures, in which students are taught to "regurgitate a set body of information," should be abandoned in favor of a system of Socratic questioning and coaching. Says Sizer: "The structure is getting in the way of children's learning."




*Horace's Compromise* is the first of three reports that will be based on a study sponsored by the National Association of Secondary School Principals and the National Association of Independent Schools. Sizer and a team of researchers spent five years on the project, visiting 80 schools across the country. The communities and students varied widely, but Sizer was struck by the mediocre sameness of the schools. He concluded, "The more the high schools *personalize* their work with students, the more effective they will be." His report recommends that high school be open only to students who can demonstrate basic competence in literacy and mathematics, and an understanding of civic responsibility. Once admitted, students should be awarded diplomas as soon as they satisfy the school's academic requirements, whether that process takes two years or five. Says Sizer: "There is no incentive to learn if kids can get a diploma by serving time, like prisoners sitting in a classroom for a certain number of hours."

Sizer would reorganize the curriculum into four major areas: inquiry and expression, mathematics and science, literature and arts, and philosophy and history. English and writing skills would come under the first category; knowledge of the system of American government would be in the fourth. Foreign language, Sizer says, is "largely wasted" unless there is an immediate use for that language. He would also eliminate vocational education on the principle that "the best vocational education will be one in general education in the use of one's mind," followed by specific training at the work site.

The Horace of Sizer's title is a composite of the beleaguered teachers he observed in his travels. Though experienced and conscientious, Horace is forced to compromise between students' and adminis-

CAROL L. FATTA

**Sizer and the jacket of his book**

*Incentives, coaching and competence*

trators' demands and the limited time and energy he can devote to the job. Sizer's report envisions new opportunities for such teachers but also new demands. Engaging students in reasoning and thinking would require dialogue and individualized attention. No more 50-minute periods. Teachers would need to be liberally educated and less specialized; they would need more control over their curriculums and classrooms; they would ideally have responsibility for fewer students (Sizer suggests a maximum of 80, half the typical current load) and would get to know them better.

Although Sizer's ideas are controversial, they have won qualified praise from some leading educators. New York Commissioner of Education Gordon Ambach, while noting that Sizer's proposals are "very anti-school structure and anti-school systems," applauds his salutary emphasis on the role of the teacher. California Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig, who tends to favor less radical reforms, agrees with Sizer's call for an intensive approach. Says Honig: "We have to move from apathy to engagement. You don't grab kids with multiple choice and workbook exercises. We need to get in deeper to essays and discussions."

This week Sizer is to announce the formation of a coalition of secondary schools that will try to put the report's ideas into practice. The schools will number anywhere from five to 15, be geographically widespread, and include private as well as public institutions. Each will adapt *Horace's* philosophical principles to its individual needs and will not be obligated to follow such particulars as tossing out age-based grades or vocational courses. Sizer's most practical goal: to prove that quality of learning can be improved without ruinously increasing the cost of education. To that end, each coalition school will be asked to carry out the changes without adding more than 10% to its present per pupil expenditure. ■

## Catbird Shift

*Harvard picks a new dean*

The post of dean of the faculty of arts and sciences at Harvard University is the academic equivalent of James Thurber's catbird seat. Besides overseeing the undergraduate colleges, the dean is in charge of some of the nation's most distinguished graduate programs. In addition, he can capitalize on Harvard's enormous influence over other American colleges and universities. After Dean Henry Rosovsky introduced a "core curriculum" in 1979 for Harvard undergraduates, many other liberal arts colleges rushed to alter their programs. Thus it was of far more than parochial interest when Harvard last week announced a successor to Rosovsky, 56, who will return next fall to the economics department. His replacement: another economist, A. Michael Spence, 40, an expert in industrial organization.

A Rhodes scholar, Spence joined the university's faculty in 1973 and became chairman of the economics department last June. Faculty sources say he demonstrated adroitness in the late '70s as chairman of a committee studying the touchy question of Harvard's investments in companies that do business in South Africa. Among Spence's top priorities are reducing sexual harassment on campus (the extent of which was revealed in a university survey last November) and improving affirmative action in faculty hiring. Furthermore, the university will have to decide one of the definitive issues of the times: how best to utilize the computer in its curriculum. ■

**Spence**

Bacon and Singer: a meandering journey in search of the rough ecstasy of rock 'n' roll

# Revel Without a Cause

FOOTLOOSE *Directed by Herbert Ross; Screenplay by Dean Pitchford*

The *Footloose* audience settles into its seats only to find it cannot sit down; the opening music and images just will not allow it. Here are a couple of dozen happy dancing feet moving irresistibly to a pounding Kenny Loggins raver that finds its inspiration in every let's-rock anthem from *Rebel Rouser* to *Devil with the Blue Dress On*. "You can fly if you'll only cut loose,/ Footloose,/ Kick off your Sunday shoes." Any viewer with a pulse rate above 25 will be bound to do the same.

This infectious credit sequence is the work of Wayne Fitzgerald and David Oliver, who lent similar magic to the title song from *Nine to Five*. The rest of *Footloose* is directed by Herbert Ross, and while it displays spasms of finger-popping vigor, the movie never lives up to—or survives—those first few minutes. Partly this arises from the picture's design. Though it is being marketed with the now familiar multimedia blitz, *Footloose* means to imitate *Flashdance* only in its box-office success. Ross and Screenwriter-Songwriter Dean Pitchford have set their sights much higher. The basic plot—*Rebel Without a Cause* crossed with the old Mickey Rooney–Judy Garland musicals in which somebody always shouted, "Hey, kids, let's put the show on *right here!*"—is buttressed with motifs on book burning, mid-life crisis, AWOL parents, fatal car crashes, drug enforcement and Bible Belt vigilantism. That is a lot of weight for a slender teen pic to carry, and this one sinks under the load.

The sleepy farm town of Beaumont is about as hip as Brigadoon. Stoked by the hellfire-and-tarnation sermons of the starchy Rev. Shaw Moore (John Lithgow), the locals have outlawed dancing. Enter Ren (Kevin Bacon), a city boy with radical ideas about popular music: he likes it. Wil Ren win over the Rev.'s willowy daughter (Lori Singer)? Will Ren and his pal Willard (Christopher Penn) beat up the town's five toughest punks in a roadside brawl? Will he be able to put the show on *right here?* You get plenty of time for your three guesses: 106 minutes, discouragingly few of which surrender themselves to the rough ecstasy of rock 'n' roll.

The film loses itself in so many internal contradictions one is tempted to call it *Screwloose*. The minister forbids his daughter to listen to rock, but he permits her to wear the clothes of a big-city hooker, a hairdo befitting a glitzy country songstress, 6 lbs. of Maybelline and no bra. The kids in Beaumont have been denied dancing for five years, yet they are as slick as the regulars on *Soul Train*. Gaffes like these were of little moment in *Flashdance;* its preposterous story was soft-focused into a modern fable. It matters here, where the young and the middle-aged, the traditional Hollywood film and the MTV feature, the music and the dialogue collide instead of merging in a pop apotheosis.

When *Footloose* cuts loose, it can beguile. The "production numbers" (especially a snazzy Deniece Williams song, *Let's Hear It for the Boy*) borrow smartly from the MTV style: fender-level camera, bright-as-Day-Glo lighting, crisply syncopated editing, fashion-photo compositions. Lori Singer fits into these compositions smoothly: her cheerleader face is ironized by dramatic blue eyes and a succulent mouth open to any proposition. Kevin Bacon may never be the cynosure of all female libidos, as he is characterized here, but he is a smart and appealing young actor. Too smart, perhaps, like the rest of the film. *Footloose* loses itself in intelligent ambition when it might more wisely have obeyed a simple musical imperative: Let's dance! —*By Richard Corliss*

# Reprise

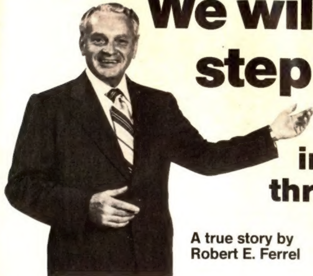
UNFAITHFULLY YOURS
*Directed by Howard Zieff*
*Screenplay by Valerie Curtin, Barry Levinson and Robert Klane*

One of cinema's immutable rules holds that any remake must invariably be inferior to the original. We do not reward embezzlers with good-citizenship prizes, do we? But rules are made to be broken, and the new version of Preston Sturges' 1948 comedy, *Unfaithfully Yours*, scores a narrow but clean win over one's nostalgic sentiment for the old master's original. Director Howard Zieff has retained the classic farcical premise: a jealous husband (Dudley Moore) is erroneously convinced that his young wife (Nastassja Kinski) is cuckolding him and is maniacally determined to gain revenge. Sturges' neat twists are retained too: the husband is still that paradigm of dignity in need of mussing, a symphony orchestra conductor; and while leading the orchestra, he still fantasizes a perfect but totally impractical plot to murder his bride.

The 1984 version offers more consistently inventive staging and better dialogue, which becomes a sort of merrily muttered accompaniment to the main comic theme. It was, of course, wonderful to watch the meltdown of Rex Harrison's icy aplomb in the original, and one cannot expect that of Moore; there is only a half-pint of him to melt. But the range and control of his facial expressions are a joyous astonishment, and the Ministry of Silly Walks should declare him a national treasure. Kinski too is back within her best range, cheerfully sexy instead of glumly sultry. In short, *Unfaithfully Yours* is faithful to comedy's best professional standards. It is smart, well paced, nice looking and reminds you of Hollywood's good old days without making you mourn for them. —*By Richard Schickel*

Moore and Kinski in *Unfaithfully Yours*

Advertisement



# We will guide you step by step

## into your own thriving business

**A true story by Robert E. Ferrel**

"I was a printer in a small Michigan town. I drew a pretty fair paycheck, but it wouldn't stretch far enough to provide the kind of living I wanted for my wife and five children.

"Then one day I was reading a magazine just as you now are and I saw an ad that offered me an opportunity for a steadily growing income. It said I would have greater security and personal independence. That's just what I wanted.

"I was a little skeptical, but said to myself, 'For a postage stamp I can find out.' So I mailed the coupon. I got a booklet that gave the whole story. It opened my eyes. I could see why owning my own business was much easier that I had thought...how the day-to-day guidance of a successful worldwide organization could assure my own success.

"I talked it over with my wife. We decided now was the time to act. So I applied for a Duraclean dealership and was accepted.

"I received a thorough training at the company's week-long school. They showed me exactly how to establish the business and make it grow. Every step had been prepared and pretested for me.

"I told my friends about the superior services I was equipped to give them. I sent some mailings and expanded my business. I contacted rug and furniture stores in my area and got referrals from them. My satisfied customers had me do more jobs and they told their friends about my services, too. As my business grew, I added service people and achieved my goal of financial independence."

### We show you how you can build your own business

You can keep your overhead low...operate from your own home. Equipment is portable and easy to handle. The business is easy to learn. When you receive our 32-page illustrated booklet (which we'll mail you with no obligation) you will see how you are guided step by step to quickly get customers... and still more customers from their recommendations.

### We train you at no cost

New dealers attend a week-long, expenses-paid training school where they learn how to provide the ten superior Duraclean services, and how to utilize modern, tested techniques for building and promoting their businesses.

### You offer superior services

You will provide Duraclean's superior, patented foam absorption process for cleaning carpets and furniture, using specially designed equipment available only to Duraclean dealers. The exclusive Duraclean process lifts out dirt without harsh scrubbing or over-wetting. Furnishings cleaned in the morning are ready for use that evening!

Our new same-day drapery cleaning service is now available only to franchised dealers.

These superior services are rendered "on location" in homes, offices, hotels, theaters, clubs, motels and institutions.

These are not ordinary services. You have the prestige and endorsement of leading furniture, fabric and carpet manufacturers.

### Advertising Support

The merits of your services are advertised in leading magazines which build your customers' confidence and bring job leads to you. In addition, you have pretested newspaper and yellow-page ads and a full mailing program available for your use.

Magazine ads are directed to carpet, furniture and drapery retailers. They can refer their customers to you as a service to them.

### Enter a growth business

Government figures show service businesses are the fastest growing segment of our economy...estimated at over a billion dollars yearly in carpet, drapery and furniture cleaning.

### Modest Investment

Only $5,900 starts you in your own business. And if you qualify, we have enough confidence in your success that we will finance the balance. The total cash investment is $14,800, which includes our exclusive and patented equipment, cleaning supplies, advertising and sales materials.

Want to be your own boss?...have an opportunity to become financially independent, and have a steadily growing income? Now you can.

If you have the desire to work and know the importance of customer satisfaction, you can likely qualify for a Duraclean dealership. This could be that one rare opportunity in your life. So, with *no obligation whatever,* mail the coupon TODAY.

**Duraclean International**

*Serving homes and business worldwide since 1930.*

**The first step—send for FREE Booklet today!**

DURACLEAN INTERNATIONAL, INC.
4-9X2 Duraclean Building, Deerfield, IL 60015

**Without obligation** send free 32-page booklet which tells how I can have a Duraclean business.

(PLEASE PRINT)

NAME__________

ADDRESS__________

CITY__________

STATE__________ ZIP__________

# Theater

## A Coney Island of the Mind

THE RINK *Music by John Kander*
*Lyrics by Fred Ebb; Book by Terrence McNally*

> *I gotta love me.*
> *It's a dirty job but somebody in this wonderful sewer of a town's gotta do it.*
> *Well they can hold the meat grinder of life up to my face and push me through it.*
> *And when I come out I'm gonna stand on these gorgeous gams and shout, "Screw it!"*

The show-biz ego—stark, aggressive, manipulative, wheedling, insatiable—has found no more assiduous celebrators than the songwriting team of John Kander and Fred Ebb. In *Cabaret, Chicago, Woman of the Year* and the movie *New York, New York,* they have composed dozens of brassy ballads for gutsy ladies staking out their parcel of asphalt turf. No raindrops on roses and whiskers on kittens for these guys. Kander's tunes have the catchy dissonance of a Broadway traffic snarl just before show time; violins cower mutely in the pit while the percussion sets a tempo of edgy energy and the horns bleat like Kurt Weill's orphaned children. Ebb never wrote a lyric as clawing as the imaginary one cited above, but he revels in devising anthems of urban indomitability. Everything that outsiders hate about New York City—its grime and pace, its inhabitants' steamroller pugnacity—Ebb sees as fodder for his romantic cynicism. If a Kander-Ebb song rarely reveals deeper moods or meanings the second time around, it certainly holds the moment onstage, by intimidating the audience into forming a beleaguered, defiant community of New York chauvinists.

KEN HOWARD

**Rivera and Minnelli between rounds**
*Big themes and outsize emotions.*

*The Rink,* the Kander-Ebb musical that opened last week on Broadway, is set on the ragged fringe of the New York show-biz world: in a Coney Island of the mind where Anna Antonelli's roller-skating rink is about to be demolished, and with it Anna's sour memories of life with her runaway Lothario of a husband and her painfully shy daughter Angel. Terrence McNally's script might suggest a domestic minidrama swathed in poignancy—*A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* mixed with *Terms of Endearment.* But from the moment the curtain rises on Peter Larkin's cathedral of a roller rink, the spectator knows he is in for 2½ hours of big themes and outsize emotions. By the end of the first act, Anna has re-enacted her gang rape by a trio of punks; at the end of the second and final act, Angel releases a cascade of personal traumas involving her father, her dead boyfriend and a surprise-package daughter. The rink that was to be razed is literally raised: the set disappears into the flies to reveal a beckoning Atlantic sun, toward which three generations of womankind can now proceed as one.

The show's casting is even grander than its ambitions. Chita Rivera (Anna) is about as small-time as Radio City Music Hall. Packing 30 years of Broadway savvy into the frame of a vivacious teen-ager, the 51-year-old entertainer could by now sell a song to the deaf; she commands the audience like a lion tamer with a whip snap in her walk; and, by the forces of magnetism and sheer will, she eats co-stars for breakfast. Thus it is partly *noblesse oblige* and partly the instinct for survival that keeps Liza Minnelli (Angel), the bigger box-office attraction, out of Chita's way. Minnelli steps to center stage only to belt out three or four of Kander and Ebb's snazzier songs, while the rest of *The Rink* skates along on the momentum of uninspired professionalism. But Chita Rivera's high-voltage presence and performance act as saving shock therapy for a catatonic show-biz form. —***By Richard Corliss***

# Milestones

**DIED. Jimmy Ernst,** 63, noted painter of spiky, delicate abstractions and son of Surrealist Max Ernst; of a heart attack; in New York City. Born in Cologne, Germany, when his father was gaining fame as a founder of the Dada movement, Ernst grew up among artists and, at the outbreak of World War II, settled in the U.S. His technique linked color blocks with lines or grids but did not exclude specific subject matter. His final paintings, currently on view in New York City, ranged in inspiration from his mother's cell at Auschwitz, where she died, to his research forays among Hopi Indians.

**DIED. Henry S. Kaplan,** 65, Stanford University radiologist and co-inventor of the first medical linear accelerator in the Western hemisphere, which became the cornerstone of modern radiation therapy and helped transform once fatal Hodgkin's disease, for example, into a relatively curable ailment; of lung cancer; in Palo Alto, Calif. In 1955 the Chicago-born Kaplan collaborated with Edward Ginzton in developing a 6-million-volt accelerator at the Stanford Medical Center, then in San Francisco. The device smashed atoms to produce high-dosage radiation that could be directed at various forms of cancer with much greater accuracy and effectiveness than older, lower-powered X-ray machines.

**DIED. Gholam Ali Oveissi,** 65, former commander of the Iranian army under the Shah, who became known as the Butcher of Tehran for a 1978 incident in which he ordered his troops to fire into a vast crowd of anti-Shah demonstrators, killing, by one count, more than 4,000 men, women and children; of a gunshot wound; in Paris. Oveissi was strolling along the fashionable Rue de Passy with his brother and a family friend when a lone gunman walked up behind the men and fired a 9-mm pistol at pointblank range. Both Oveissis died instantly; the third man escaped injury. Two groups, the Islamic Jihad and the Revolutionary Organization for Liberation and Reform, claimed responsibility for the killings. The next day, the United Arab Emirates' Ambassador to France, Khalifa Ahmed Abdel Aziz Mubarak, 38, was gunned down in similar fashion as he was leaving his Paris residence.

**DIED. Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov,** 69, General Secretary of the Communist Party and President of the Soviet Union; from complications of heart and kidney disease; in Moscow (*see* THE SOVIETS).

**DIED. Henry Hugh Arthur FitzRoy Somerset,** 83, tenth Duke of Beaufort and, from 1936 to 1978, Master of the Horse, third-ranking post in the royal household; after a heart attack; in Badminton, England. The Duke followed his pack of hounds for more than 70 years and once estimated that he had spent 4,000 days in the saddle pursuing foxes. He defended his passion by saying, "Hunting is the only thing that draws this country together—apart from war."

# WHERE WILL YOU FIND AN IRA YOU CAN BANK ON?

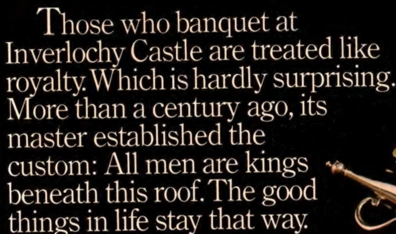
THE BANK

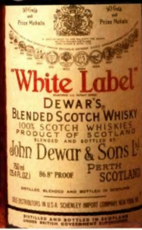
© 1984 American Bankers Association

Your retirement security depends on the security of your retirement investments. That's why there's no better place to have an IRA than your Full Service Bank.® You can bank on us for F.D.I.C. insurance of up to $100,000, as well as a guaranteed return at competitively high rates.

And you can bank on a tax deduction of up to $2,000. Up to $4,000 for married working couples. And the high interest you earn is tax-exempt until you begin withdrawing funds after reaching age fifty-nine and a half. We'll give you the IRA that gives you retirement security. You can bank on it.

America's Banks.
Security with no ifs.



BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY · 86.8 PROOF
©1984 SCHENLEY IMPORTS CO., N.Y., N.Y.